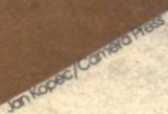


What are they doing with us?

Crossplugging Page 13

70 CENTS



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THE INSIDE STORY



Jesse Jackson at the Jerusalem wailing wall.

Jackson takes his show to Israel

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

Chicago's Jesse Jackson came to Israel pushing a very clear message, one that is making Israel's leaders very uncomfortable.

"The Palestine Liberation Organization is recognized by 115 states," Jackson reminded an audience of distinguished Jerusalem citizens, called together by mayor Teddy Kollek the night of his arrival. The guest easily parried his hosts' protestations that the PLO represents terrorists bent only on Israel's destruction. No longer true, Jackson tried to reassure them, adding that even if it were, that would make negotiations to end the violence all the more urgent.

Middle East politics Professor Shimon Shamir, considered a dove and often critical of his government's policies, argued that the PLO is not an authentic representative of the Palestinian people, that an alternative must be brought into negotiations. "Who is that number two, then, and where are they?" Jackson asked. Shamir stuttered.

The visitors also met with opposition Labor Party leaders Shimon Peres and Yigal Allon (who also reject any suggestion of dealing with the PLO), with a delegation from the more liberal Peace Now movement (also against the PLO), and with representatives of the Israeli Black Panthers, remnants of a protest movement of poor oriental Jews, who have become isolated, partly because of their extreme dovish position. They told Jackson that they do support talks with the PLO, and explained that funds that could solve Israel's housing and education problems are going instead for arms and new settlements.

Jackson also visited a Palestinian refugee camp north of Jerusalem and Nablus city hall on the West Bank, where his black power-style audience participation speech (in English) caused some bewilderment, but was warmly received—up to the final "right on."

As with much of his activity, Jackson's visit became a major media event, in large part due to the controversy over the government's refusal to meet with him. In the end, a government tour guide was supplied, as well as a company of security agents. And the group's itinerary sometimes resembled a tug-of-war, before as many as 100 reporters and photographers, in which conflicting Israeli interest groups vied for appointments and interviews.

The primary message.

But the primary message was heard, and there are

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signs that it is beginning to be understood, no matter how unwelcome it remains.

While Jackson was grabbing headlines in Jerusalem, a group of Israelis was quietly participating in a symposium on the Palestinian problem in Rome. It included two parliament members, one Communist and one left-Zionist, several professors and a former director-general of Israel's Finance Ministry, now affiliated with the left-Zionist Sheli party. Also present was an official delegation sent by the PLO.

The Palestinian representatives were only second rank (it had been rumored that Yasser Arafat himself or "foreign minister" Farouk Kaddoumi might attend and they said nothing significantly new.

In fact, there was disagreement and debate between them and the Israelis. But it was the first time the PLO met officially and publicly with Israeli Zionists. And there were some encouraging statements.

Asked if the creation of a Palestinian state would mean recognition of Israel, the chief PLO delegate said "obviously, it implies something of the sort."

The PLO man even indicated approval of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's recent conversations with radical Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip; "We appreciate Jewish efforts at dialogue," was his comment.

Dayan himself, who was angrily accused by some hawks of undercutting Israel's anti-PLO boycott by talking with its known supporters, was most recently quoted here as having told American interviewers that talks with the PLO might be possible under certain (stringent) conditions. Dayan has made and then denied similar statements in the past. But even if they were all unintentional, implausible supposition, they at least indicate a consistent pre-occupation in the foreign minister's mind.

Some observers interpret Dayan's maneuvers as complementary to the continued ranting and raving by Begin and others against any possibility of dealing with the PLO. Pointing out that Dayan has suffered no reprimand despite the apparent contradictions, they feel the strategy is to encourage potential PLO opponents—essentially King Hussein of Jordan and his conservative West Bank allies. Dayan's meetings with the radicals, the theory goes, were a Machiavellian threat that if the conservatives don't play ball, they might lose out altogether.

If this was the intention, the policy does not seem to be working. King Hussein and the PLO, and their respective backers in the occupied territories, are maintaining their newfound unity against the Egypt-Israel agreements. Mayors of the territories' towns are keeping Israel off balance, not the other way around: Storms of protest follow the military government's frequent attempts to keep them from travelling abroad. The restrictions are inevitably lifted, and the mayors have been globe-trotting lately with unprecedented recognition, meeting triumphantly with Arab heads of state, world diplomats and the very PLO officials whom Israel once dreamed they would replace as their people's representatives.

Changing attitudes.

There are indications that little by little, Israelis are becoming open to a more realistic posture on the PLO and the Palestinian problem. A late September poll showed that 72.4 percent of Israelis felt that there could be no peace with all the Arab states unless the Palestinian question were resolved.

Fewer (40.2 percent) favored current U.S. efforts to bring Palestinian representatives into the talks, but only 51 percent opposed the efforts.

About 40 percent of those asked said they felt that Arafat represents most Palestinians. Although 80 per-

cent opposed negotiation with the PLO under today's conditions, only about 45 percent said they would still oppose such talks if the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist. This last number could logically be expected to shrink even more if the question were no longer hypothetical.

The "Yariv formula" is becoming more and more acceptable in the Israeli political center. Named after former information minister Aharon Yariv, who was forced to resign after first composing it in 1974, the formula states a willingness to negotiate with any Palestinian organization that agrees to cease terror and recognize Israel. The Labor Party has now adopted it, albeit halfheartedly and accompanied by reassurances that the PLO would never meet such conditions.

Further to the left, Sheli, which had moved away from its interest in talks with the PLO after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 and especially after the Camp David agreements a year ago, has shifted again towards welcoming PLO participation. Dr. Matityahu Peled, who last year was writing the PLO out of a future role because of its rejection of Camp David, has now even expressed criticism of the upcoming New Outlook Israeli-Palestinian peace symposium in Washington for its failure to invite PLO representatives.

The Communist Party and other left groups maintain their opposition to any attempts at finding a substitute for the PLO. Plans are afoot to organize a broad-based campaign around the single slogan "negotiation with the PLO."

But for the majority of Israelis, the suggestion of talking and making peace with the PLO remains threatening. Official bodies continue their barrage of propaganda against the organization, labelling it as inalterably and solely terrorist. Most of the media play up bombs and threats, usually ignoring or contesting more moderate statements and reports of other PLO activities.

Israelis have progressed in recognizing the existence of a Palestinian problem, the importance of its solution and the extent of world support for the PLO. But without a major gesture from the Palestinian leadership, such as an official statement of recognition or declaration of a temporary cease-fire, those Israelis who for their own reasons want to maintain the occupation will probably be able to continue to manipulate public opinion and a comprehensive peace will remain elusive.

PLO doesn't like it

Abdel Jawad Saleh of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) executive committee reportedly accused the Rev. Jesse Jackson of trying to split Arab and Palestinian ranks by seeking a freeze in the armed struggle against Israel, according to an Oct. 7 *New York Times* report.

Jackson asked the PLO's ruling committee for a document "clearly stating" what the organization wanted.

Instead, he got a statement from a PLO spokesman saying the organization did not want to "exterminate Jews" or drive them "into the sea."

But in a press report from Kuwait, a spokesman for the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical guerrilla group under the PLO, said "We reject the extemporaneous statements by Jackson and refuse to stop our operations against Israel."

Palestinians "will never stop resistance against those who occupy their land," the spokesman said.

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CED tour begins in New York

By Ronald Radoch

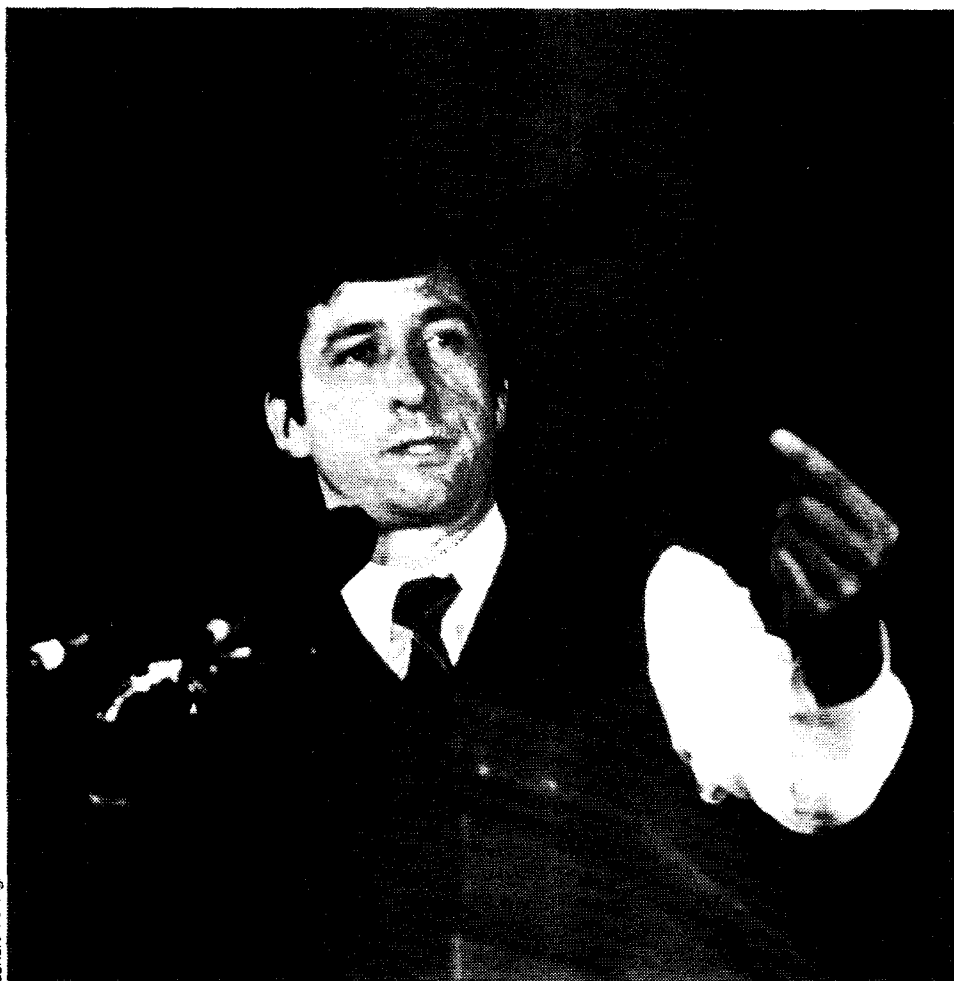
IN THE OPENING WEEK OF THE NATIONAL tour for the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda greeted thousands of New Yorkers, most of them Jewish, who turned out expecting to hear an explanation of CED's program for a majority movement against corporate power. At the meeting in Temple Shalom on Manhattan's fashionable East Side, sponsored by the American Jewish Congress, Hayden attempted to relate the crisis in the Middle East to the domestic energy crisis. The media was out in force, but strangely, only Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* printed anything, and the *Post*'s story was a half-page portfolio of photos of Fonda speaking with a caption noting "husband Tom Hayden tagged along."

The focus of their Oct. 8 meeting was on Israel, the Mideast and American foreign policy. The U.S. has recently been forced to surrender its strategic oil reserves, Hayden informed his audience. The loss of this vital resource was forced on the U.S. by OPEC, Saudi Arabia in particular.

Calling this a "national defeat and a national embarrassment," Hayden concluded "There is a new tilt in American foreign policy towards the Arab cause in general."

As evidence of big oil's power, Hayden cited full page ads appearing in California papers, in which Standard Oil "appealed to the American people to become more sympathetic to the Arabs." Calling attention to what he termed a "strange coalition between big oil and the PLO," one that included both liberal Democrats and reactionary Republicans, Hayden argued that the same oil companies who were always the first "to attack revolutionaries, to attack radicals on the American campuses, to attack the Chicago Seven...these same oil companies, this same Establishment that is against radical change and violence from campus to campus and country to country suddenly finds itself in an interesting, unusual but nevertheless very real alliance with Yasser Arafat."

They had formed what he called an invisible but powerful lobby that favored the Arab rich and the Arab states. Sounding much like Norman Podhoretz, Hayden stressed that American security depended on 200 tankers passing through narrow straits that could be sabotaged by Palestinians, and he held out to the audience the fear of "overnight economic strangulation." Those of us who opposed the war in Vietnam, he said, "are not going to be supporters of American men fighting in the Middle East for the multinational oil



Lorne Devereigne

Hayden charged the oil lobby with throwing its weight behind the PLO. He criticized black leaders' intervention.

corporations." Such a war, he said, would be "immoral, illogical and could not be won."

Subordination to the oil interests was connected to domestic policy. It intensified inflation, Hayden said, and meant a loss of American economic sovereignty and dollars. "Some people think talking to the PLO will help solve this problem," Hayden said, in an apparent allusion to American black leaders visiting the Middle East. His only hope was that if they insisted in doing so, they would convey a need for non-violence, a cease fire, a policy of restraint and an insistence on the right of Israel to exist "and not promote the idea that the PLO can achieve its aims by reaching American public opinion and by pitting one ethnic group against another...with the entire thing promoted from above by those who hold the real economic power."

Hayden said he was well aware of the profound grievances of Palestinians, but he was sure they could not be satisfied unless they created a domestic-secular state, "and that means the dismantling of Israel." The PLO had produced no real change in its overall policy, Hayden argued, and talking with them in and of itself would "not bring peace, justice or security."

Hayden praised the United States for putting its hope in what he called "a progressive and historic accord, the Camp David agreements," and he opposed any moves that would hinder the peace process begun by those agreements and would hinder it from moving to the "difficult issue" of real autonomy for the Palestinians. Interrupting Camp David with other measures would mean that "once again America is violating its word and destroying an agreement." He implied that big oil was urging such a disruption.

The answer held out by Hayden was domestic: to change American energy policy in a way that would lessen dependence on foreign oil, which would then alleviate some of the pressure being put on Israel. "A different energy policy," Hayden stated, "would lead to a new situation where the trade of Israel is not on the alter of the large oil companies, and Israel would not be sacrificed in the interests of big oil." Positing an objective "alliance between American working people, consumers and the state of Israel," Hayden said there was a common interest with Israel in working to keep world political developments out of big oil's hands. Today, he said, "it is the Seven Sisters of big oil who are subverting this country."

When Fonda took the podium, calling herself a "worker in the field of consciousness," she pandered to the audience and used the moment to lash out at Vanessa Redgrave, which brought the expected applause from the largely Jewish crowd. Fonda began by talking

about how moving an experience it was for her to film "Julia," and how she gained a realization then of what it had meant to be a Jew in Germany during the 1920s. "The bitter irony of the Julia experience," she went on, "is that I made it with Vanessa Redgrave." Claiming that she disagreed with Redgrave "on every issue from the bottom of her toes," she explained that she had made a pact with her before the filming not to discuss politics because of ugly political fights they had previously. "I am happy for the opportunity to come here to differentiate myself from her." Arguing that the PLO Covenant still stood for the destruction of Israel, Fonda ended: "I with all my heart will do everything I can to help Israel to be able to live in peace and security for as long as I live."

Only at the very end of the question period, in a response to a question, did Hayden indicate he was familiar with critical responses within Israel. This was the only moment that Hayden broached anything that neared a controversial remark.

What did Third World and left endorsement of the PLO, Hayden was asked, mean for radical politics in this country? Hayden responded by saying there were three phases which had produced "shifting alliances." The first occurred from the 1930s through the 1950s, when the left had an easy time identifying with Israel, which they saw as a communal, socialist experiment, symbolized by the kibbutz. The second phase occurred simultaneously with U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Six Day war between Israel and Egypt. Hayden said the New Left, including himself, was incensed over the bombing of Vietnam, and saw Israelis attacking Palestinians as the equivalent. Moreover, the U.S. was supporting Israel with bombs, dollars and weapons, and the result was the dissociation between progressives and Israel since Israel had lost "its luster of purity, and Palestinians began to gain some sympathy."

The third and present phase, according to Hayden, was "the beginning of the realization that it is the oil interests who are dictating American domestic and foreign policy, and that the left in this country has a very clear stake in a settlement that protects the right of Israel to exist, not over and above the right of Palestinians to exist, but that protects Israel's right."

Then, Hayden spoke of meeting people on the Israeli left, one of whom "struck me very much, who said: 'I did not raise my son to be an occupier. We cannot be a democracy if we must be so militarized. The militarization will destroy our democracy.'" And he mentioned that a Labor Party official from the old days told him that "Tel Aviv is not what we had in mind when we wanted to turn the whole country into a kibbutz." Finally, Hayden said that a feeling exists among intellectuals and the left in Israel that the "old ideas of social justice and an egalitarian community are being slowly devastated by the ongoing inflation, the war machine, and the tenuous mob of our young men who stand duty on the streets of the West Bank." A somber note; the only time in a long evening in which Hayden offered any criticism of Israeli policy, something he had evidently tried his best to avoid.

It seemed strange, at a time when there is growing ferment in both Israel and the U.S. within the Jewish community that is questioning past and present Israeli policies, that Hayden—a major figure on the American left—should have failed to identify with or even mention the Israeli Peace Now movement and its American Jewish supporters. At a time of Jewish regroupment among both Israeli and American Jewish lefts, this failure was striking. ■

UAW, Ford settlement

DETROIT

United Auto Workers (UAW) President Douglas Fraser emerged "encouraged" from last week's meeting of the union's national Ford Motor Company council, but said the chance for a strike against the No. 2 automaker is "still an open question."

Although the UAW council overwhelmingly approved a tentative Ford contract, the vote was only the first in an expected week-long ratification process.

The new Ford pact, affecting about 197,000 workers, sticks close to the Sept. 14 General Motors agreement. UAW Vice President Ken Bannan said "the economics (of the contract) are identical, although we spent the money somewhat differently." The Ford contract was sweetened, however, with several items aimed at skilled trades

workers. They are expected to be happier with a provision for striking over sub-contracting violations by the company. Until now, any dispute involving giving work to outside contractors was likely to become bogged down in lengthy arbitration.

The proposed contract also calls for better skilled trades representation.

Independent skilled trades council chief Al Gardner told IN THESE TIMES, however, that the three percent annual productivity wage increase called for is "totally inadequate," despite Fraser and Bannan's claims that wages and the basic economic package can't be bettered on this contract.

Formal talks with Chrysler are expected to begin this week.

—Ron Williams

MACHINISTS

Five month strike follows a pattern of anti-unionism

By Sam Kushner

BURBANK, CALIF.

A FIVE MONTH OLD MACHINISTS strike at an aerospace firm here has resulted in the hiring of a small army of security guards and attack dogs to protect scabs being paid as much as \$1,000 per week.

The company supplies close to half, in dollar volume, of medium and heavy landing gear used for military and commercial aircraft in the U.S.

Daily ads in the *Los Angeles Times* placed only under the initials of United Technical Services offer the top rates, noting in small type a "labor dispute in progress."

The dispute is at Menasco Manufacturing Company—a two and one half year old subsidiary of auto conglomerate Colt Industries.

A UTS spokesman said "there are about 50 companies doing the same thing we are doing and the thousand dollars a week is a package deal that includes overtime—about 55 hours a week—plus transportation and housing."

The strike, called May 31 by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers Local 758 (IAM), is the 11th at the suburban Los Angeles firm since workers organized in 1941.

A nine week long strike three years ago was necessary to save a voluntary overtime provision in the IAM contract.

The solidarity of the Menasco workers is outstanding, with none of the 465

original strikers crossing 24 hour per day picketlines despite the lucrative scab pay.

In a letter to all IAM locals, union president William Winpisinger and other international and local officials said "this is the first negotiations with Menasco, Inc., since the merger into Colt a couple of years ago.

"The strike is the result of big management attempting to intimidate the work force. Since the beginning of negotiations, Colt Industries has maintained that they have a policy of making one offer, take it or leave it," the union leaders said.

They further commented "Colt continues to hire strikebreakers at \$1,000 a week. They charged that we have violated the injunction (limiting picketing). They have cancelled the medical insurance of our members. And they have hired an army of security guards. Their strike breakers have assaulted our members on the picketlines on numerous occasions, and as a result, one of our members has been in the hospital for 11 days with a concussion after being hit by an automobile."

Menasco's wage offers are far below Carter administration guidelines. In a three year contract, the company offered a seven percent increase the first year, with 3.5 percent more for the second and third years.

In addition, the company offered cost of living increases based on an estimated 10 percent rate of inflation—61 cents per hour the first year (including 11 cents per hour that was due in March and April), 58 cents per hour the second year and 63 cents the third year.



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Labor Dispute in Progress

A company security guide with a portapak camera attempts to intimidate strikers at Menasco, Inc., in Los Angeles.

Despite the business downturn, Colt Industries is enjoying the aerospace boom. Its profits remain high.

While the nation is generally suffering from a recession, Colt, according to a recent story in *Barron's*, is enjoying "the boom in the aerospace industry." The financial weekly said the spurt in demand for its smaller cars is "lifting the fortunes of Colt Industries, Inc. Despite the national economic downturn, the diversified manufacturer of industrial products here and abroad just reported sharply higher earnings for

the first half of 1979." And, according to *Barron's*, next year should be even better.

"The past year's surge in aircraft orders by commercial airlines plus government programs to develop laser guided missiles, F-18 bombers and the like, should ensure strong profits for Colt well into the '80s," *Barron's* said.

It said Menasco, purchased in 1977 for \$59 million and now accounting for about seven percent of Colt's income, made profits topping \$14 million last year in a strong climb in earnings for the subsidiary. Labor troubles at both the California and a Canadian plant will hold down this year's net, although the company's outlook for the 1980s is considered bright.

The IAM is not the only union worried about union busting at Menasco and the goal of super profits in the next decade, however.

Locals from the United Steelworkers, IAM, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Auto Workers, the United Rubber Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers were represented at a July meeting at Louisville, Ky., under the auspices of the Industrial Union department of the AFL-CIO.

They planned coordinated bargaining with the multinational company as well as efforts to rally support at plants now on strike.

Meanwhile on the Menasco picketline, guard dogs pace inside company gates while pickets—limited by court injunction—appear to be winning. According to IAM business representative Eloy Slazar, even at \$1,000 per week scab pay, "there have been few takers" of the jobs.

"Landing gear is the product and none are being produced, a fact that we believe is already being adversely felt by such aerospace companies as Boeing," he said.

It took the threat of criminal charges in Burbank's municipal court from California's Division of Labor Standards Enforcement to get Menasco to mail out past due vacation pay checks. The company will have to pay the workers interest on that pay due to holding up the checks for so long, which legally should have been done immediately after the strike began.

UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

Organizing the unorganizable

By Robin L. Nahin

A SUCCESSFUL STRIKE AT THE Kraco auto accessory plant in Compton, Calif., has pioneered new tactics for defending the rights of undocumented workers, building community-labor alliances and holding the line on union busting in the Southwest. For the first time in 25 years, the 350 Mexicanos who assemble CB's, car radios and floor mats have a legal contract. Not a great contract, but a contract.

Located 10 miles south of Watts, the city of Compton is about 85 percent black; Kraco, however, hires predominantly "undocumented," Mexican labor. Before the strike (which was settled Aug. 22) most Kraco employees were paid minimum wage, without overtime, seniority, or medical benefits. In 1978, Kraco reported earnings of \$12 million. Company president Maurice Kraines paid himself \$400,000. Kraco is the largest business in Compton and has broken four previous union efforts. According to 10-year employee Ephren Loza, Kraco regularly eliminated "labor troublemakers" by calls to the Immigration Service.

The company's assumption, of course, was that the Spanish-speaking "campesinos" (peasants) either had no legal rights or would be afraid to exercise them. But, after 15 months of educating, organizing, legal strategizing,



Strikers, with picket sign saying that undocumented workers can be organized.

fruitless negotiating—and finally, striking—there is a contract: pay hikes from \$2.90 to \$3.20 for most workers, cost of living raises, grievance procedures, limited medical benefits, and a seniority system. Kraines refused to hire 30 "strike leaders" and balked at the union's affirmative action demands, however.

The real success at Kraco, however, lies in the coalescence of forces—political pressure, union militance, moral in-

dignation, and economic desperation—that brought Kraines to the bargaining table.

New era of labor terrorism.

In the course of the 12-week strike Kraco bused scabs from the Mexican border, called in the Immigration Service, used its influence with Compton police to have strikers arrested, and hired 100 mostly black "security" guards to fan racial tensions. Compton became the scene of nightly labor violence: women workers were sexually harassed, dozens of picketers were beaten, and several were shot.

The resort to outright violence is one indication of the stakes, symbolized in the Kraco confrontation. "Los Angeles was supposed to be a civilized city," one veteran journalist said. "We knew they could take it away at the bargaining table, or with Proposition 13...But the armed guards and the guns and the dogs! I fear that we're entering a new era of labor terrorism."

The United Electrical Workers (UE) succeeded in organizing Kraco where other unions had failed by putting out an effective appeal for solidarity throughout the labor movement. UE organizer Robert Garcia reports, "We haven't seen this kind of active support since the Depression."

Previous union busting efforts had merely starved workers out. The UE local spent nearly \$60,000, much of it

Continued on page 12.



Police at the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear power plant strike lined up outside the company fence on the second day of the demonstration, Oct. 7, after charging out from inside the first day to mace and club demonstrators. Among those attacked by the police were a CBS camera crew and reporters for several newspapers. Police

ripped gas masks off demonstrators as they retreated. Police arrested only those who entered the company grounds or failed to retreat. The occupiers were kept off the site, but succeeded in halting work for three days. State expenses for the police ran over \$200,000.

THREE MILE ISLAND

The hearings go on, but is the verdict in?

By Richard P. Pollack

SHORTLY AFTER THE THREE MILE Island (TMI) accident occurred investigation fever swept through Washington, D.C. Before packed audiences and television cameras, congressional committees announced plans for hearings. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, itself an object of public criticism throughout the TMI crisis, launched its own investigations. President Carter established a 12-member Commission on TMI. And the General Accounting Office declared it would investigate the investigators.

All told, at least 11 state and federal probes were launched to examine the nuclear industry's worst atomic power plant accident. Over \$10 million in taxpayer money has been expended by a small army of nuclear engineers, social scientists and disaster officials who have dug in on the banks of the Potomac. A replica of the TMI control room has even been constructed within the nation's capital.

The first full report on the accident is due Oct. 25 by the Presidential Commission, headed by Dartmouth College president John G. Kemeny. Then the full avalanche of agency, congressional and department reports is expected to follow.

There will be plenty to read but the likelihood of answers about the safety and desirability of nuclear power is in doubt.

Many observers believe the flurry of investigations will duck the central issues.

"Nothing substantial will come from any of the inquiries because the accident wasn't 'bad enough,'" says Robert Pollard, a Union of Concerned Scientists staff member and a former inspector for the NRC.

"Nothing will change unless the

public demands that things change—or unless ten to twenty thousand people are killed."

Mark Messing, who has followed the nuclear industry for the Environmental Policy Center, has "no confidence that any substantial changes will come from it."

"You may get better training, beefed up inspection and better emergency response," but "beyond that," Messing says, "you'll get just another foot and a half of documents—and that'll be that."

History seems to be on Messing's side. Previous accidents at nuclear power facilities have produced lots of paper, and a few minor reforms. But no past investigations have asked if atomic technology is simply too complex and too volatile to control.

When fire devastated the safety systems at Alabama's Brown's Ferry nuclear reactor in 1975, for instance, both the NRC and the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy churned out mountains of transcripts and reports. The JCAE hearings alone produced over 2,300 pages.

Yet, except for new fire tests for cable separation trays at nuclear plants, the results were marginal. And the 1978 tests by Sandia Laboratories showed that the cable separation rooms for nuclear reactor safety systems today are as susceptible to fire as they were before the Browns Ferry accident.

Of all the official probes now underway, the one that seems to hold the most promise is the Kemeny Commission. Most of the other study panels seem to have wilted despite the mobilization of staffs and financial resources. The NRC's special inquiry group is continuing to slip behind schedule. The Senate's investigation is just beginning to start its hearings. And the House probe insists on holding marathon hearings with no particular end in sight.

The Kemeny Commission is being

eyed as the most potentially meaningful probe. But there are warning signs that the presidential group may also fail to address the desirability of nuclear power and its value as an energy source.

Casting a pall over the Kemeny Commission are statements made by the President himself. On July 16, the day after he delivered his Camp David energy message to the nation, Carter told a Kansas City audience that the U.S. will have to rely on nuclear power for energy.

The statement reportedly disturbed many of the panel members on the Kemeny Commission, who believed that Carter was interfering with the panel's conclusions.

More disturbing still was an Aug. 10 statement by the President to out-of-town reporters. At that meeting, Carter told the correspondents he would comply with the Kemeny Commission recommendations "where practicable." It was clearly implied that far ranging proposals to shut down or phase out nuclear reactors might be ignored by the White House.

One Commission member told *In These Times* that the Aug. 10 remark "deeply undercut" the Commission's authority and tended to circumscribe the scope of its investigation.

Whether the Kemeny group would tackle the central issue of nuclear power's desirability, or whether it would choose to sidestep the issue in favor of piecemeal reform has become a concern to even the *New York Times*.

In an editorial Oct. 2, the *Times* pushed the Kemeny Commission members to indicate whether nuclear power should be abandoned. "The commission can't really duck this issue," the editors wrote. "If it simply recommends reforms, it will implicitly endorse continuation or even expansion of nuclear power."

"The commissioners have been studying the worst nuclear accident for half a year," the *Times* noted. "Now they must tell us how they feel deep in their hearts. Can we tame the atom or not?"

On Oct. 25, the public may have a fuller glimpse into that fundamental question.

In the meantime, other groups inch toward completion of their own probes. They include:

- An NRC in-house investigation of itself, led by Washington attorney Mitchell Rogovin. Rogovin, who represented the Central Intelligence Agency and

its director, William Colby, will be receiving a hefty \$450,000 to examine how the NRC responded to the TMI accident. Their report is expected to be released in early December. And, unlike all other probes, the Rogovin panel will not conduct a single public hearing. Its entire investigation will be conducted by private task groups.

- A series of other in-house groups now examining the "lessons learned" from TMI. The group of 14 committees is being led by HRC official Harold Denton, who took command at the crippled reactor on March 30. The NRC is slowly releasing those studies to the five sitting Commissioners as they are completed.

- A Senate subcommittee on Nuclear Regulation look into the TMI crisis. Led by Colorado's Senator Gary Hart, the special 12-member team is expected to release its findings by June 1980.

- The House subcommittee on Energy and the Environment, which has held 15 separate days of hearings on TMI, but has offered no specific recommendations. The subcommittee, led by Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz. has no deadline for action, but is planning still more hearings.

- The House Science and Technology subcommittee hearings on TMI's radiological releases. Headed by Washington State's pro-nuclear representative, Mike McCormack, the subcommittee concluded that there were no health problems associated with the accident. They plan no further hearings.

- The General Accounting Office, which is investigating various aspects of the Pennsylvania accident and will be looking at the way the investigations are being conducted by other agencies and panels. Each of the GAO probes will be released throughout the Fall and Winter.

- A state of Pennsylvania commission to study and evaluate the TMI mishap. Led by Lt. Gov. William W. Scranton and partially financed with a \$600,000 federal grant, the report will examine the state agency responses and the effects the crisis had on the psychological, physical and economic health of the population. Its reports will be released by Dec. 31.

There are other non-governmental probes, including a series by the nuclear industry itself. But as one UCS member asked, "how many of them will address the real issues and how many will rationalize this industry into existence?"

POPE'S VISIT

In Chicago, it was a well done pageant

By John Fleming

POPE JOHN PAUL FLEW INTO Chicago an hour late and, making up for lost time, his convoy of limousines cruised through much of the city's Northwest side without stopping. This disappointed the huge crowds lining the streets, especially those in Alderman Roman Pucinski's ward. A classic Chicago pol, Pucinski had passed out leaflets the day before that read, "See the Pope in person! Receive the Papal blessing! You and your entire family are invited to participate!"

Red-faced and sputtering after the motorcade passed, Pucinski said, "I thought he'd be going slower and standing up. He went too fast, and the people didn't even see him." But, Pucinski concluded, "You can't blame the Pope, he wasn't driving." Which brings up an issue not raised by the media during John Paul's visit. Is the Pope a good driver?

No matter. Everything else about the Pope was covered in excruciating detail—right down to the china provided for his meals at Cardinal Cody's mansion. "Neutral yet elegant," the *Chicago Tribune* reported. It was white with a gold edge.

Pretentiousness runs through the Chicago press like a red streak, and the Pope stimulated a rash of incredibly screwy writing. My favorite reporter was M.W. Newman, the brother of Edwin Newman and a veteran warhorse billed by the *Chicago Sun Times* as its "special writer." (His last comparable assign-

ment was a long rambling feature on the ruins of Pompeii).

Newman headed the paper's crew of 70 reporters and photographers covering the visit, and he knocked out some monster lead stories. Battered with headlines like "A tough city nestles in a pilgrim's hands," Newman's stories jumped from page to page for more than 40 inches. According to him, the Pope "swept through Chicago with a gentle strength" and "cast a Papal glow over Chicago and clasped the city to his heart." John Paul didn't speak, he "intoned" or "beamed an affecting message of brotherhood" or "worded his thoughts with a simple directness." Those touched by seeing the Pope didn't cry—or even "weep"—but "dissolved in tears of joy."

Yet perhaps this was inevitable, since Chicago is hugely Catholic—"more Catholic than any other city north of Mexico and west of Europe" is the way one paper put it. And, after all, parochial schools have long perpetuated a pathetically bad brand of prose in which it's difficult to think at all.

Naturally, the television coverage was massive—and hilariously reverent. Broadcast journalism schools are not strong in teaching Pascal, and it was interesting to hear anchorpersons with time to fill wrestling with the particular contract between heaven and earth that made the Pope the actual incarnation of God's word. It was not broadcasting's finest hour, and the efforts at coverage ranged from one guest priest commentator's explanation of Catholicism to a nodding football-player-turned-announcer—"You see Johnny, it's a life



The Pope's conservative message was already clear.

within a life, the liturgical cycle, Advent, Lent..."—to dozens of live reports beginning with helpless announcers saying "Here we are waiting for the Pope to pass, so let's ask these schoolchildren what they think..." to analyses resembling Cheech and Chong routines. "That was real deep," said a commentator after one of John Paul's homilies.

The only notes of impudence came from *Tribune* TV critic Gary Deeb who

complained that the entire visit was "rehearsed and stage-managed," and from disk jockey Steve Dahl (whose anti-disco rally stopped a White Sox game last summer). Treating the occasion like just another rock promotion, Dahl peddled "Pope-Soap-on-a-Rope" over the air; and attempted calls to the Pope's "roadies." One morning he announced that the Pope's visit had been cancelled and was later forced to apologize after the mayor's "Popeline" was flooded with anxious calls.

As silly as it was, Dahl's spoofing had a point. It brought to mind an essay on the Catholic Church written a few years ago by Wilfrid Sheed. He pointed out that the church's business has fallen lately, what with suburbia, TV and the break-up of family ties, genuine community culture in the United States has given way to fashion.

"Religion has entered a cycle of little fake deaths and rebirths like the rise and fall of the hemline." This may be all right, but where does it end? With something like last week's spectacle, according to Sheed. "The one kind of society that the church cannot adjust to is no society at all, a set-up where community has become so fragmented that a communal religion is a fiction sustained only by talk and make-news items in the press and television."

By the time John Paul reached Chicago, the conservative temper of his message was plain—in Philadelphia he'd said that priests must remain celibate, that the priesthood is forever, and that it must remain a male preserve. And at a gathering of American bishops here, he made the most unequivocal statement of his papacy on artificial contraception. Quoting from a pastoral letter that the Bishops composed in 1976, he said, "In exalting the beauty of marriage you rightly spoke against both the ideology of contraception and contraceptive acts, as did the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. And I myself today...ratify the teachings of this encyclical..." In the same ad-

Continued on page 12.

COOK COUNTY HOSPITAL



Chicago's Cook County Hospital, like so many public hospitals, is threatened with closing.

Medicaid rules cause crisis

By John Fleming

CHICAGO HAS BEEN HAVING trouble getting its fiscal act together lately, and after the city's bond rating slipping a notch last month Mayor Byrne announced a program of job cuts and started exploring plans to build a public casino. But the crunch came last week when Cook County Hospital almost missed making its payroll, and only an eleventh hour transfer of funds from the

County Board saved the hospital from going under. It was nothing new, because for over a decade the giant 1,200-bed hospital has endured a series of crises in an effort to survive. The city's only public acute-care facility (and with a network of satellite clinics and 8,000 employees part of one of the country's largest public hospital systems), County treats more than 1,000 patients a day. Now it's operating on a week-to-week basis.

The crisis became inevitable last summer after the state legislature failed

to pass a package of bills covering the hospital's \$40 million deficit. The legislature also failed to pass a bill raising the state's hopelessly inadequate Medicaid eligibility standards, which are at the crux of the hospital's problems. Established by the state in 1973, these standards have fallen behind in a family of four making more than \$4,400 a year is still considered too well off to receive Medicaid.

As dollar wages have gone up with inflation, says John Hadley, chairman of the county's Health and Hospital

Governing Commission, more and more people have become "working poor." People with incomes of \$8,000 and families of four "simply don't have any money left for health care," he added, but "they come to County hospital because they know we will care for them. They cannot afford to go elsewhere."

In 1973, 62 percent of Cook County Hospital's days of care were financed by Medicaid. But now only about 25 percent are paid for this way. The decline in state and federal aid through Medicaid has placed a rising burden on county property taxes, which have not kept pace.

But the \$8,000 a year patients still end up at County, which unlike other hospitals in the city doesn't require payment before treatment.

"We take everyone and care for them and then chase down the funds," says Dr. Quentin Young, chairman of the hospital's Medicine Department. But the patients often can't pay, and the state has been so rigorously enforcing the Medicaid standards that the hospital's reimbursement rate has been cut almost in half over the last three years, a loss of millions of dollars. Another reason for the latest crisis is Cook County's inability to supply promised—what with uncollected taxes and sluggish bond sales, it has cash flow problems and still owes the hospital a big chunk of its annual appropriation.

County's problems were obscured last week by the hoop-de-doo surrounding Pope John Paul's visit to Chicago, and city leaders weren't rushing forward with solutions. Mayor Byrne was silent, except to say that she didn't want to "meddle." Maybe a proposed "summit conference" between the mayor, Governor Thompson and County leaders will come off, and maybe it won't. But one fact is certain: the hospital's \$9 million payroll is due every two weeks.

GREAT BRITAIN

British Labour party swings to the left

By Chris Mullin

LONDON

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY has taken a substantial swing to the left, which, if sustained, could transform politics in Britain in years to come. At its annual conference, Oct. 1-5, the party accepted proposals for two major constitutional reforms aimed at making the parliamentary leadership more accountable to the members.

First, the party approved proposals for mandatory reselection of Members of Parliament (MP). Until now it has been almost impossible for a local party to remove a sitting MP in a safe Labour seat, but in the future, all Labour MPs will have to compete for renomination once every four or five years.

The result could be they will be paying more attention to the views of their party members and giving less weight to the views of the leadership.

Second, the conference agreed that in the future the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) will have the final say in drawing up the election program. At the moment, this is the joint decision of the NEC—which tends to be left-wing dominated—and the parliamentary leaders—who tend to be well to the right.

A third proposal, that the party leader should in the future be chosen by delegates from the constituency parties and trade unions as well as Labour MPs was narrowly defeated. Now only the MPs choose the leader.

Needless to say the present leader, James Callaghan, and his parliamentary colleagues campaigned frantically to prevent these changes going through. And that fact that—on two counts out of three—they have failed, casts doubts upon Callaghan's future and that of many other right-wingers in the party.

Although Callaghan now says openly that he regards the changes as a major personal defeat, there is no sign that he will resign immediately. In any case, from his point of view the battle is far from lost. The conference also agreed to a proposal from a right-wing trade union leader to set up an inquiry into the organization and structure of the Labour Party. Callaghan is clearly hoping that this inquiry will come down on his side, enabling him and his supporters to re-open the constitutional issues at next year's conference.

The key question will be the composition of the inquiry: this will be determined by the NEC which retains a narrow left majority. The chances are that the inquiry will not only endorse the recent gains, but may even re-open the question of who should elect the leader.

But the inquiry isn't Callaghan's only chance of reversing these setbacks. During the next year he will be working hard to hobble the leaders of the big unions who between them have 90 percent of the conference votes with the remainder held by representatives of local Labourites.

The changes only went through because they were supported by the leaders of three of the four biggest unions (the Transport and General Workers, the Engineering Workers unions (the Transportation and General Workers, the Engineering Workers Union, and the Union of Local Government Workers). Many of the small and Labour Party leaders have often secured their loyalty by rewarding them with peerages (a seat in the House of Lords) or jobs on the boards of nationalized industries and other public bodies.

At the moment the balance of power in the Labour Party conference is held by the engineers' union. If they alone could be persuaded to change their vote next year—and the union's leaders will be under enormous pressure to do



Four times Labour governments have been elected on programs of fundamental social change. Each time Labour ministers in office have ditched the program. The current changes are intended to prevent this.

so—there is still a chance that some of this year's gains will be lost.

The struggle for power within the Labour Party has overshadowed all consideration of policy issues and looks like doing so for some time to come. The background to this is important. Four times within the lifetime of most active Labour Party members Labour governments have been elected on the basis of a program for fundamental economic and social change. And on each occasion, Labour ministers, once in office, systematically ditched the bulk of the programs on which they have been elected.

The 1974-79 Labour governments, for example, came to power committed to planned industrial investment on a scale that private enterprise seemed unable or unwilling to provide. Within a year they had ditched this and reverted to traditional methods of managing the economy, cuts in public spending and a rigid incomes policy.

As a result, a substantial gap has opened up between Labour's parliamentary leadership and the rank and file, who are determined that no future Labour government will jettison party policy as previous ones have done.

Many commentators have portrayed the present battle as a struggle for power between Callaghan and the leading left-winger, Tony Benn. There is something in this, but the issues are more important than the personalities.

In any case, although he is outstandingly the most popular politician with

the party rank and file, Benn stands no chance of being elected leader while the choice remains in the hands of the Labour MPs.

Benn is feared by the British establishment because they believe that, unlike many Labour politicians, he has both the ability and the will to put party policy into practice. He is also committed to dismantling the patronage system, which concentrates all power in the hands of the prime minister.

If the method of choosing the leader were changed to some sort of electoral college along the lines proposed, Benn would stand a chance, though much

would still depend on his standing with the big unions. There is always the danger that, faced with a change in the method of electing the leader, Callaghan would resign before the new system could take effect, leaving the choice of his successor in the hands of the MPs. In which case the leading candidates are former Chancellor (Finance Minister) Denis Healey and former Agriculture minister Silkin.

This conference has seen the emergence of a new Labour Party superstar—one now widely regarded as a future party leader. He is Neil Kinnock, a 37-year-old MP from South Wales.

Kinnock's rise has been meteoric. He has been in Parliament for nine years and is already a member of the NEC and is party spokesman on education. He is a splendid orator, but, unlike Benn, has not yet been tested by the responsibility of office.

Needless to say, the events of the last week have evoked howls of anguish from the party establishment and from their friends in the conservative press. There has been much talk of Marxist conspiracies and even a plot to turn Britain into an East European state.

But the object of the changes is to close the wide gulf in the British Labour Party between the leaders and the led. ■

RADICAL HISTORY FORUM

N. Y. Premier of
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 AND THE
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Emperor goes: empire remains

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IT TOOK ONLY 680 SOLDIERS OF THE real empire to bring down Jean Bedel Bokassa's delusions of empire in Central Africa on the night of Sept. 20. With Bokassa off in Libya begging for money from Kadhafi, French forces flew in their designate David Dacko, and secured strategic points in the capital of Bangui. "Vive la France," exclaimed the U.S. State Department spokesman. The Emperor is gone, long live the empire.

After initial rejoicing, Centraficans began to complain that except for sending their mad tyrant off to a political asylum, nothing much had changed. The French surgical removal of Bokassa left in place the same generals, prison guards and top officials who couldn't all have been innocent of the famous imperial bloodshed. The only popularly recognized opposition leaders were not allowed to return home from exile, and a week after being promoted by Paris from Bokassa's advisor to President, Dacko was advising the same Bangui youth whose protests led to Bokassa's fall to "stay out of politics."

First reports early this year that Bokassa had massacred school children were dismissed by French Cooperation Minister Robert Galley as "pseudo-events." Perhaps nothing seems altogether real to Galley in Centrafica, where it is widely rumored that Bokassa "played a joke on him" by serving him a portion of human flesh at the 1977 imperial coronation banquet (according to Bokassa's former press advisor). But the massacres were subsequently confirmed by Amnesty International and a special commission of the Organization of African Unity.

How Bokassa got the job.

Some French diplomatic sources have indicated recently that they never really picked Bokassa to rule. Instead, they had given the green light to gendarmerie commander Jean Imazo to overthrow Dacko, judged to be hopelessly corrupt and erratic. But Bokassa, the former French colonial army social elevated to army chief of staff, got wind of this, perhaps from Dacko himself, murdered Imazo and several cohorts in particularly atrocious fashion and seized power himself on New Year's Eve 1965.

Whether he was assigned to the job or volunteered for it, Bokassa was kept on as gamekeeper, even though French diplomatic pouches recounted his crimes in detail long before his megalomania attracted world attention. Sparsely populated, landlocked and remote, with resources going from cotton and coffee to diamonds, Centrafica is a happy hunting ground for shady dealers and speculators. As prices of petroleum—and thus synthetic fibers—go up, the potential value of Centrafica's cotton and untapped uranium deposits increases. The main task of the Bangui government is simply to keep this real estate firmly within the French sphere.

Bokassa did the job, but the growing scandal created by his eccentricities persuaded the French to fire him. The first idea was to allow Emperor Bokassa the First and Last to retain his imperial fan-

tasy by retiring him in favor of a "regency council." French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's chief African affairs advisor Rene Journiac laid out a comfortable imperial retirement plan to Bokassa at a secret meeting in Gabon Aug. 1. Bokassa replied by whacking Journiac with the imperial scepter and breaking his glasses. When Giscard telephoned to admonish his "cher parent," Bokassa hung up on him. That was the last straw. French military planners began to organize "operation Barracuda."

And how he lost it.

Behind his back, Bokassa's closest collaborators began applying for his job. In Paris, his former ambassador, General Silvestre Bangui, went on French television to announce formation of a "government in exile of the Ubangi Republic." French officials later dismissed this as a diversion to distract Papa Bok's attention from more serious plotting. France's real choice was Dacko, but Bangui was rewarded with the post of Foreign Minister.

To his credit, Dacko reportedly realized he was unfit for the job, having already botched his first term in office from 1960 to 1965, and tried to back out. Like Bokassa, he is a member of the same branch of the small Mbaka tribe that got in on the ground floor of the new state and controls the Bangui Chamber of Commerce and considers local trade a family business. Already discredited and unpopular, Dacko further ruined his reputation in 1976 by accepting a lucrative appointment as one of Bokassa's personal advisors.

But French diplomats apparently felt that a "restoration" of the president Bokassa overthrew 14 years ago would provide an air of legitimacy while covering up the fact that the same team is being kept on. Of the ruling gang, Dacko, a bumbling bungler, looks relatively reassuring compared to Silvestre Bangui, a pretentious poseur, and silently sinister Henri Maidou, Bokassa's prime minister promoted to vice president by the coup.

In Paris, a more important consideration than the Mbaka monopoly was to strike a balance between the two main tribes of the French right, Giscardians and Gaullists, who between them control the companies that exploit Central Africa's tobacco, cotton, high-quality timber, breweries, textile mills and automotive vehicle assembly plants.

The new ruler.

As soon as Dacko began to speak for himself at presidential press conferences without prompting from French ambassador Robert Picquet, he blew his lines. On Sept. 24, he said he was all for ending the "hypocritical" boycott of South Africa and establishing full diplomatic relations with the apartheid state. The next day, he said he was only joking. "After all we've been through, we have to kid around a bit...I wanted to imitate you journalists and make a splash, and you believed me," the jovial liberator told increasingly skeptical reporters. Another of Dacko's jokes was to say that his rival, Ange Patasse, would be arrested for corruption if he came home from Paris.

THE PUPPET

How to replace a puppet the strings and a little to

His compatriots did not seem amused. Patasse, exiled in Paris at the head of his "Movement for the Liberation of the Centrafican People" since losing his job as Bokassa's prime minister a couple of years ago, turned out to have a real following in Bangui. For one thing, he is not a Mbaka. For another, while prime minister he earned the affection of government employees, school teachers and all the relatives who in African countries live off government paychecks by paying their salaries "out of his own pocket" when, as frequently happened in Bokassa-land, the public treasury was empty. How did he come by such wealth? Not honestly, obviously, but the people prefer a generous crook to a stingy one. Besides, Patasse makes a better appearance than the Dacko-Maidou bunch, speaks more modestly than Silvestre Bangui and calls for withdrawal of French troops and a transitional coalition government representing all groups, including exiled opposition groups, to prepare free elections.

Patasse was left out of "operation Barracuda," apparently primarily because Giscard's government has never forgiven him for granting uranium mining rights to the Swiss firm of Alusuisse (partly controlled by American capital) back in 1974. The French counterattack was organized by Jacques Giscard d'Estaing, Valery's cousin and financial director of the French Atomic Energy Commission, closely linked to the Compagnie Francaise des Minerais d'Uranium. Bokassa was informed that Patasse criticized him behind his back, and Patasse was disgraced.

The French did not want any credible opposition leader to return to Bangui until the excitement in the streets, which could threaten to topple Dacko, died down. French authorities, who a couple of days before had refused to let ex-emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa, a French citizen whose property in France includes two chateaux, into the country, would not let Patasse out.

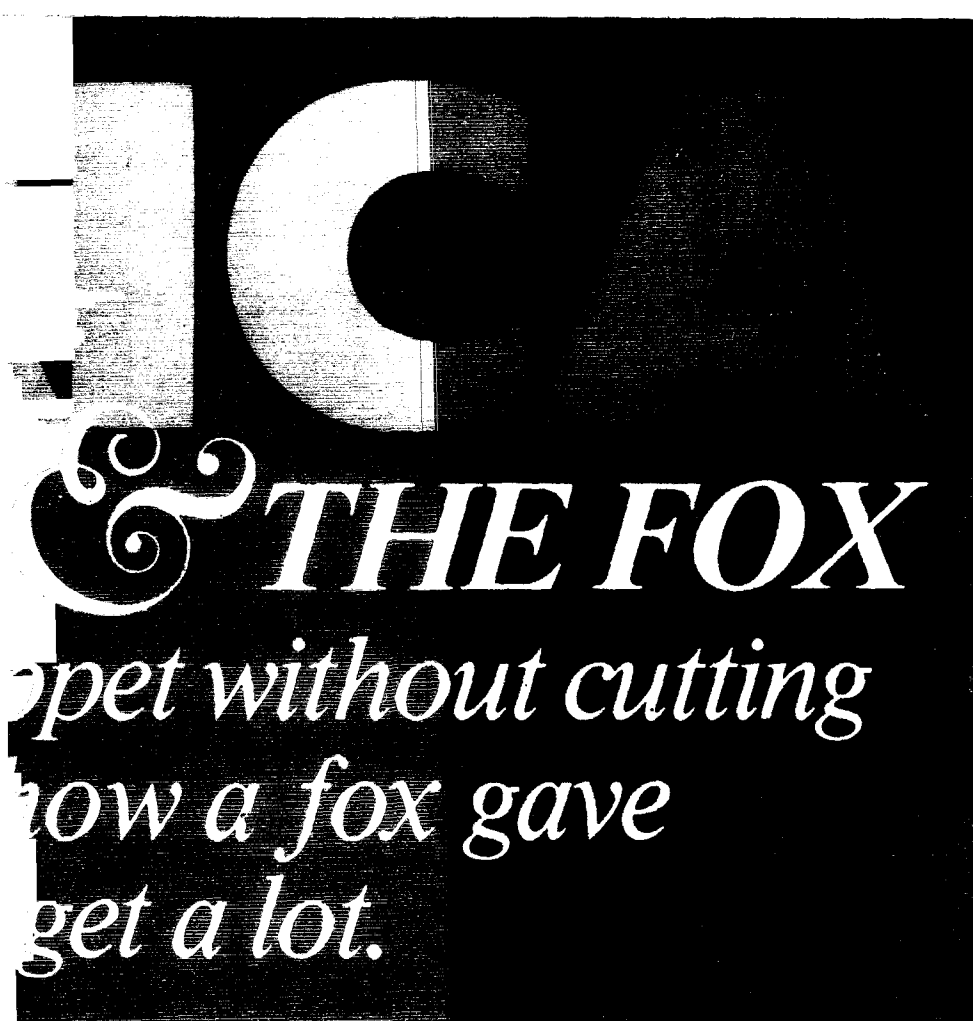
In Bangui, teachers and students demonstrated for Patasse. The Teachers Union, backbone of whatever civic conscience can develop in such an unpropitious setting, held a public meeting

to demand that French troops limit their task to keeping order without "covering up for Bokassa's accomplices."

In Paris, Patasse caused a momentary sensation by seeking "protection" in the Libyan embassy before flying to Africa. Meanwhile, there was no word from Centrafica's most respected opposition leader, Abel Goumba, the only one who is untouched by the corruption of the Bokassa regime, having been in exile for about 15 years. An employee of the World Health Organization, Dr. Goumba teaches medicine in Cotonou, capital of Benin, and heads the Ubangi Patriotic Front. Goumba called the French intervention a "veritable act of colonial reconquest" and asked Centraficans to demand real democracy by refusing to collaborate with Dacko's "puppet regime."

The Benin government seemed to support Goumba, yet it immediately expelled a French television team that arrived in Cotonou to interview him. Benin's president kerekou had just been to Ivory Coast where he consulted with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who a few days earlier let himself be persuaded by Paris to grant asylum to Bokassa. This favor enabled the French to get him off their territory, where any citizen could have started legal procedures against him for crimes against humanity—a prospect to horrify the esteemed French leaders whom the "cannibal emperor" would not have failed to call as character witnesses.

The empire is not just Centrafican, and not just French. Diamonds Distributors of New York and Cominco of Vancouver control the lion's share of the diamond business. Israel also has a large share of the diamond trade, despite the breaking of diplomatic relations in 1973. That is the sort of hypocrisy the candid Dacko is apparently eager to end. His desires certainly go in the direction of imperial policy, if a bit too fast and too openly. South Africa has built a cement factory and a big hotel in Bangui, among other things, and once almost got Bokassa to be the first independent African head of state to pay a formal visit to South Africa, back when he was only for President-for-Life. Now maybe they can get somebody more presentable, like Dacko. ■



*Botha's reforms:
how a fox gave
get a lot.*

By Our South African
Correspondent

WHEN SOUTH AFRICAN Prime Minister P.W. Botha was elected to his office a year ago, he was widely described as a "carpet-chewer." A conservative Nationalist Party leader, who as minister of defense had directed South African troops into Angola in 1975, Botha was well known for his ferocious temper. It was generally believed that he would be ruthless in his efforts to smash internal opposition to the apartheid regime. Ruthless he certainly has been. Nicknamed Piet "Wapen"—the Afrikaans word for weapon—for his tendency to shoot first and ask questions later as well as his formal position in government, Botha has shown little patience with critics—including members of his own cabinet, whom he regularly takes to task. In June, when he forced B.J. Vorster to resign as president over allegations the former prime minister had covered up financial scandal in his government, Botha showed little remorse, although he had succeeded Vorster only a few months earlier. Vorster and many party stalwarts were furious, but Botha's voice barely quivered as he announced the patriarch's ouster.

Botha's relations with the press are another example of his brusque style. On several occasions he has forced newspapers to retract and apologize for uncomplimentary stories, while early in his tenure, infuriated by press efforts to reveal the scandal that ultimately ended Vorster's career, he backed a bill against "gossip mongering" that was so harsh even the Nationalist party papers objected.

But Botha is also pragmatic. In the last few months, he has begun to wield his power more freely, as Botha has shown that he is fully aware of internal

dissent and international criticism of apartheid, and he is taking steps to relieve the pressure. Botha and the most influential members of his cabinet have gradually revealed themselves as "verligte" (enlightened)—the liberal element of the Nationalist Party, which is determined to change apartheid until it is acceptable to the rest of the world.

Black "advisory" role.

In a few short months, Botha and his henchman, Piet Koorhof, minister for black affairs, have pushed a range of legislation past parliament and opened discussion on still more dramatic changes: the government will now permit some blacks to stay with security of tenure in urban areas; blacks no longer need permission to visit the urban areas; blacks even have an "advisory" role in government. Colored (Africans of mixed descent) and Indians will soon be asked to elect representatives to a three-tiered parliament; some blacks may join legal trade unions; blacks have been given access to skilled jobs in the mines and in industry. In response to international criticism of the Bantustan policy, Botha's government is trying to "consolidate" the homelands, making them 10 large pieces instead of a hundred little ones.

There are indications he is considering throwing a few formerly "white" cities into the bargain. Last month, Botha made the supreme gesture of touring the Bantustans to talk to their leaders, and, to top it off, he and his cabinet made the completely unprecedented move of visiting Soweto.

Botha's reformist policies are not without criticism in his own party. When Vorster took a few tentative steps towards moderating the original apartheid scheme in 1969, a small but vocal group of right wing extremists split off to form the Hertzige (Purist) National

Party. Today, Botha faces the threat of a second split in the National Party, or of a larger vote for the HNP (which at present garners only one percent of the total). Working class Afrikaners, who have formed the NP's backbone, have expressed dismay at the government's liberal moves: surveys suggest that while most NP party leaders and intellectuals consider themselves verligte, only six percent of the party membership holds "enlightened" opinions. Andreas Treurnicht, leader of the conservative Transvaal NP, has based his rise to power on this displeasure over even mild reforms, such as the desegregation of public areas (post offices, stores, —though not most restaurants or theaters).

Whites strike to keep blacks out.

In March, the all-white Mine Workers Union went on strike against the mineowners' efforts to fight inflation by opening skilled jobs to blacks, who are less well protected by trade unions. The union expected the government to intervene, as usual, on the side of the Afrikaans workers, against the mineowners. But Botha refused to intervene, a position tantamount to siding with the big capitalists. The mine workers—whose stance has barely changed from the one that produced the 1920s slogan, "Workers of the world unite, and fight for a white South Africa"—are still furious with their government.

The mine workers forgot to consider that Afrikaners are no longer simple farmers or workers. Since the NP first took power in 1948, the South African government has increased the Afrikaners' share in mining and industry. As a result, Afrikaners are no longer a despised group, exploited by the English-speaking capitalists and threatened by blacks accepting lower wages. And Botha has turned to the now sizeable group of Afrikaner businessmen for support.

Andreas Wassenaar, Afrikanerdom's most powerful magnate, has come out firmly behind Botha. "In the short time that the present government has been in power," he told a group of businessmen recently, "I have gained the strong impression that the Republic has never had a Prime Minister so able to consult private enterprise," or so willing to remove the politicians' restraints on the market's free hand. Botha, Wassenaar said, has provided "a fresh breeze in government-private sector relations."

Wassenaar's statements underline the theory behind Botha's reforms. As Botha himself told Parliament, "the caricature of apartheid as the world sees it is dead." The government is beginning to dismantle the clumsy structure that made the regime so universally unpopular and to replace it with free enterprise and competition.

Speaking with Botha's full backing, Minister for Cooperation and Development (i.e., black affairs) Koorhof told the Washington Press Club in May "It is obvious that where [white] privileges are earned and deserved, they should remain and serve as a means to help our black brothers along the way to greater success. Where such privileges are based on discrimination, they should disappear."

"A bloodbath before breakfast."

It is a thoroughly pragmatic approach, and Botha seems to have won over the rest of his party to it. On the one hand, it will reduce international attacks on South Africa by removing overt discrimination; on the other, it will create a black middle class and labor aristocracy that will act as a buffer be-

tween the white minority and the rest of the blacks. South African whites, Botha told the country recently, must try to win the hearts and minds of the indigenous peoples; given the threats it faces on its borders and in talk of international economic sanctions, white South Africa must adapt or face "a bloodbath before breakfast."

But while the reforms Botha is pushing are, as he says, "necessary, fair and responsible," they are also too little, too late. The caricature of apartheid—the overt signs of racial discrimination—may well be at its last gasps, but the real apartheid—the policy of separate development—is alive and kicking. Last month, Venda became independent, the third Bantustan whose citizens must exchange their passes for passports. Like Vorster before him, Botha is speeding up the process of dividing the country, pushing the 75 percent of the population with black skins onto 13 percent of the land.

The bantustans, even with Botha's new "consolidation" schemes, contain little fertile land and almost no industry. The government estimates that in the last four years, an average of only 10,000 jobs have been created annually near Bantustan borders out of the 60,000 needed to relieve unemployment in those areas—and that generous guess assumes each job in industry creates four more in other sectors.

Temporary sojourners in a white country.

Most black workers, having been deprived of their South African citizenship, will still be laborers in South Africa, treated as temporary sojourners in a white country, an economic necessity the whites pretend they can do without.

Botha has made it clear the Bantustan policy will not change. "I do not believe," he told a party meeting recently, "in power sharing. I believe in power division." Which means, in non-South African English, that blacks will never become full citizens of South Africa, but will be forced to accept either the Bantustans' puppet governments or parallel structures in urban areas. Even the Indians and Coloreds, who Botha has promised will gain political participation in South Africa, will be accommodated only "on the basis of ethnicity, traditions and language"—never, in other words, on an equal footing with whites.

Minister Piet "Promises" Koorhof put it even more strongly when he spoke to Soweto's black chamber of commerce about the need for a "plural" set-up, with different structures for each race and for each black language group. "I say again, I don't believe [political participation for blacks] can be achieved in a unitary set-up. As a student of political and constitutional development, I say again, it cannot be achieved in a unitary set-up. I say again..."

The divide-and-rule program of apartheid will not be abandoned: in a country where blacks outnumber whites 4 to 1, any system allowing blacks a full voice in decision-making would quickly deprive whites of their privileged position.

Not surprisingly, none of Botha's flaunted reforms have included any changes in his country's draconian internal security laws. Even if the new policies make things easier for the small group that is supposed to become the new black elite, they won't help the majority. Denied skills or much education by previous generations of white rulers, most blacks will be unable to take advantage of any new economic opportunities.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

CHILDREARING ITS LOVELY HEAD

ROBERTA LYNCH'S ARTICLE ON THE relationship between men and women and the state of the women's movement (*ITT*, Oct. 3) completely neglects the role of childrearing in the male/female relationship. This is unfortunate. In my eight months of parenting, I have found that the various attitudes of fathers towards sharing childrearing responsibilities is an accurate measure of my level of commitment to women's equality. It also measures my willingness to bring out my "female side" as a gentle, caring parent.

Lynch suggests that one sign that women are becoming respected for their intelligence is the increasing involvement of women in the workforce. I would argue that a further advance for men would be the recognition by us that childrearing is demanding, but often joyful work—requiring much more intelligence and care than most jobs, if it is to be done well—and that therefore it is work that we should want to share in equally with women.

The women's movement and the left therefore should not simply demand more accessible daycare facilities as a means of freeing women to enter the workforce. Daycare should be seen more as a last resort.

We should rather demand that men be given paternity leave when their children are newborn (as is done in Sweden), and that work schedules be made more flexible, so that both men and women could, at the same time, hold jobs and also take on the work of childrearing.

—Robert Pollin
New York City

HAVE NO FEAR

DAVID MANDEL'S ARTICLE "ITT CORRESPONDENT IS JAILED IN ISRAEL" (*ITT*, Oct. 3) is a model of independent socialist news reporting. Its neutrality is of such quality that even Yasser Arafat could hardly be less objective. With compatriots like David Mandel, Israel's holocaust need fear no external enemies.

Of late, I'm beginning early to look forward to each edition of *In These Times*, due to my increasing wonderment as to the next demonstration of objective reporting.

—Nathan H. Sauberman
Fairfax, Va.

THE CHEMICAL HOLOCAUST

MUCH IS MADE OF THE GERMAN Nazi Holocaust, but what about our own?

The chemical officials who caused a landfill of poisonous wastes and the consequent evacuation of the Love Canal Area, the ones who buried a poisonous chemical along 21 miles of an eastern highway, the ones who made the insecticides, PCB, 245-T, Dioxin and others, the ones who ordered the ravaging of Vietnam not only with Dioxin, but otherwise; should be made accountable by a modern Nuremberg Trial and imprisoned. How many millions have

our corporations killed and those responsible, gone Scott Free?

We must remember Lincoln's words, "and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth," and realize we are now, not people, but just numbers!

Change this system or perish from the earth!

—George A. Beyer
Minneapolis, MN.

OH, WHO OWNS PBS?

MICHAEL MASSING'S ARTICLE ON public television (*ITT*, Sept. 19) touches an important issue: Who's the public in public television? The answer at the moment is that it depends whether you're talking about funding, ownership or control.

Who owns public television? We do. Since 1934, federal law has clearly stated that the airwaves belong to the people. The "public" frequencies are the leftovers after commercial interests helped themselves to most of the spectrum.

Who funds public television? We do. Last year taxpayers footed 71 percent of public television's funding; if you add in public contributions, the total is 85 percent. Corporations and foundations provide the balance.

Who controls public television? They do. Executives of major corporations, banks, and professionals allied with them dominate the boards of "our" public TV stations. As AF-SCME recently told the FCC, "a review of governing boards of public television stations...indicates an almost complete absence of organized labor representatives...The governing boards...contain a high percentage of business, finance and other corporate management representatives." Not only is labor excluded; so is virtually every community based organization. Independent producers and representatives of grass-roots organizations from environmentalists to racial minorities are kept off the boards and kept off the air.

The issue for public broadcasting in the 1980s is communications democracy. Will our popularly based political economic and cultural organizations have access to a control over the stations and funding that is rightfully ours? Or will we continue to allow our stations to be managed by corporate interests?

—Dick Bunce

National Task Force on Public Broadcasting

DON'T FORGET THE SOCIALIST PARTY

I HAVE GREATLY ENJOYED READING *In These Times* over the past years, and look forward to many more years of receiving your coverage of left-wing events and issues. As an independent socialist newspaper, *ITT* serves the needed role of reporting in unbiased fashion on the American left. However, sometimes *ITT* fails to live up to this purpose, and I feel some improvement could be made towards a more unbiased, complete coverage.

There are many organizations on the American left that deserve to be reported on and that readers would like to know more about. You have given a

great deal of attention to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the New American Movement, and the Campaign for Economic Democracy, while to a large extent ignoring other organizations, some with long histories and points of view quite different.

John Judis' remark, "Despite NAM's relatively small size (.00045 percent of the American population), it is one of only two national democratic socialist organizations," (*ITT*, Oct. 3) is simply not true. There are other democratic socialist organizations in the U.S., including the Socialist Party, USA, that deserve to be reported on, and their conventions covered, as are DSOC's and NAM's. There is no reason to pretend that groups like the Socialist Party do not exist, or do not strongly disagree with working in the Democratic party or supporting liberal and moderate Democrats for office, which they believe can only lead to an opportunist diminishing of the quintessential revolutionary character of socialism.

—Donald F. Busky
Socialist Party, USA

OR THE COMMUNIST PARTY

COULD YOU PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY you extensively cover the NAM convention of 300 people and fail to even mention the CP-USA convention in Detroit when they had thousands attending? You may feel that NAM is the cutting edge of social change and that the CP-USA is old and on the way out, but as a newspaper that serves the left you have some journalistic responsibilities.

ITT is my paper. I need the kind of reporting it carries on culture and news. But for those who work in a labor, peace, health, reform, and anti-racist context, it is useful to know what the CP-USA and other communist groups are deciding at their conventions. It should not be necessary to say that because you disagree with them is no reason not to report on them.

—Gordon Quinn
Chicago, Ill.

Editor's note: There are a large number of socialist, communist and "Marxist" parties and groups in the U.S. Some, like the Socialist Labor Party, have been around for almost a century. Others form, dissolve and reform every few months. We can't follow them all, so we try to cover those whose approach to politics seems to have the potential of helping create a socialist majority in the U.S., or those whose activity is news in its own right, regardless of our estimate of the group's potential.

We have occasionally covered activities of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Communist Party, but we did not cover the Communist party's convention because no new ideas were expressed at it, and the thousands present did not represent popular support but an expensive public relations effort by the party.

Our attitude toward the Communist Party and toward the Socialist Party is more indifferent than hostile. We share many principles with the Socialist party, but on the record it does not

appear to have the potential to be a significant force in American politics.

ISMISM

SADLY, IN ITS STORY ON "UNIVERSITIES Face the '80s," *ITT* fell into an all too common trap of racism and sexism—stories by Blacks on Black Studies, by women on Women's Studies, and those on everything else by white men. That *ITT* knows better is illustrated in the same issue by the prominence given to the work of Marjorie Phye as an organizer (not of women alone) for the machinists in the draft Kennedy drive.

—Alan Garner
Northport, NY

RUFFLED FEATHERS

FRED PHIEL'S "DISTURBED AND ANGRY" letter (*ITT*, Oct. 3) left me disturbed and angry, too.

Let's set the record straight. Columbia-DSOC has been working on trying to get the regional Health Systems Agency (HSA) truly representative of consumers. HSAs have the potential to become vehicles through which the people control the Health Care Industry. A Columbia DSOC member is now being considered for the HSA sub-region board.

Fred, in his English professor's language, mentions the "well-coifed union leaders in suits and shades" at the one local meeting he attended. Well Fred, did you forget that those sinister sounding characters who you described apologized for their get-up with the explanation that they had just come from testifying in Jefferson City for the right of public employees to strike. Unfortunately, the remnants of '60s dress and philosophy at the meeting probably brought on such an unneeded apology.

NAM's worker "on a city garbage truck" (alma mater Washington University) while packing cheese at the local health food cooperative grocery recently put down a friend's membership in DSOC with the statement, "NAM is a revolutionary organization." Well la de dah.

All of which brought me to this point. Why all this squabbling? Are we beginning to defend and protect our organizations as if they have a particular virtue by being ours? Is there a qualitative difference between the Pine Grosbeak and the White-winged Crossbill? Is there not a common sense of purpose behind the beliefs of Democratic Socialism? Birds of a feather....

—Joel Blouffuss
Columbia, MO

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

The answer to previous puzzles are:

"The Evil Men Do..."

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10 Years After

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KATE ELLIS

The Investigation of a Wrongful Death is a powerful experience

I'VE ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF those people who develops symptoms of whatever disease is being talked about. I had trouble breathing during most of *The Magic Mountain*, and could never finish a biography of James Joyce because he developed glaucoma half way through. Anyone with tendencies in this direction may find themselves gripping tightly the edges of Ellen Frankfort's *Rosie: The Investigation of a Wrongful Death* the way one grips the steering wheel of a car travelling over a dangerous road.

When Frankfort went to McAllen, Texas, to find out what role the cutoff in Medicaid payments for abortions had played in the death of a 27-year-old woman who had died there in October 1977, she did not know the woman's name. By the end of the book we have met Diane and Margie, unwed mothers whom Rosie's example has inspired to go to college. We have met Pauline, the sister of Rosie's jailed fiance, several local doctors whose lies formed the basis for the media coverup surrounding her death, the investigating team of doctors who worked with Frankfort, Evangelina, who "broke" the coverup by telling Pauline that she had taken Rosie to an abortionist in McAllen, and finally the abortionist herself.



Though she limits herself to what went on in her interviews, Frankfort brings to life each of these people as she meets them and as they help or hinder her in putting together the abortion history of her subject, Rosaura Jiminez. In fact, if Frankfort's biases show anywhere it is in the degree of depth that she allows to the various personages. Margie and Diane, who are fairly on top of things, have histories, while Evangelina, whose mental balance gave way after Rosie's abortion, who drinks, takes Thorazine, and thinks the investigating doctors are "cute," is close to a stereotype.

Nevertheless, Frankfort takes pains to give us the texture of life in a small Texas border town because it has bearing on how the participants of her story view abortion, and behind that, how they view female sexuality. It's a culture, she is told, where women are

used (a euphemism for sex) by their husbands and abused by their husbands and fathers, where teen-age girls are not allowed to date and who marry right out of high school. Pauline claims that some of the mothers use contraception (the pill) but tell their daughters it is a sin.

The men that Rosie and her friends date are ephemeral, but there seems to be little trust on the part of the women. "By now I know," says Margie, "that when a man says, 'I'll take responsibility,' don't believe him. I used to think when I was young that he meant he'll marry me and help support the baby if I get pregnant. Then Rosie told me that it means he'll pull out. But when it comes time to actually doing it, I discovered that he doesn't even mean that." Margie doesn't say so, but my guess is that these men who "take responsibility" do not want their women to do so.

But the powerful center of this book is the absent Rosie who "always went out with younger guys," according to her friend Diane, because "she felt she was too old, that she had missed something along the way," whose mother once beat her for burning some beans and who never got over the rejection. Yet every detail of Rosie's life was stamped with defiance and struggle. I've never read a life of a woman to whom Adrienne Rich's last line in her poem "Power" is more applicable: *her wounds came from the same source as her power.*

"She wanted to be somebody real bad," said Diane. "I think she was grasping real hard for life."

Frankfort discovered that this was Rosie's third abortion (her fourth pregnancy) and that she did not slip across the border for any of them, as official reports had claimed. This official coverup is, if anything, more racist than sexist: a typical Mexican-American woman crosses the border for an abortion because of shame and because she finds an institutional setting (such as a clinic) intimidating. Do you remember Charles Garry's initial (and unsuccessful) defense of Inez Garcia where he stressed her Catholic background, her closet full of shoes, and

her neurotic attitude toward sex as evidence for a defense on grounds of temporary insanity? Well, this explanation of Rosie's third abortion (done not in Mexico at all but right in her home town for \$40) draws on these same attitudes, and we owe a real debt to Ellen Frankfort for exposing them.

Yet there were complicated emotions, including shame, involved in what Rosie did. The man she had been seeing went to jail (we don't learn why or for how long) so she "started going out with guys right and left," getting pregnant by one of them. She also realized that the pill was dangerous, and took it on alternate months. It was as if she was playing Russian roulette with her body, defying it to "get her" in the same spirit that Sylvia Plath, with success at hand, dared death to put an end to it.

We see the complexity of Rosie in one of Diane's descriptions of her friend:

She was always pretending to be rich. She went out with a lot of guys. She wanted someone to take care of her. She would go out with a nice guy once, and if he treated her well—you know, took her to a nice restaurant, didn't mind her kid being around—she would say, 'He's in love with me,' and then she would get her hopes up high. And it was like she was two different people because another part of her life believed so much that the only way she could change her life was to get her degree and be independent.

"You see," Diane adds, "Rosie had this knowledge. It was like a vision. She had to get away."

It's easy to slip into hagiography: Rosie who died for the sins of us all, a scholarship check in her purse and blood pouring from her eyes like you see on statues of Christ in Mexican churches. She saved others, herself she could not save. But I think that Frankfort's achievement lies in showing us that technology does not enter our lives without creating tremendous upheavals. Birth control is not just something you pop in your mouth or your vagina. We all have a right to equal protection in the face of these upheavals. We have, to coin a phrase, a right to life.

BOOKS

Corporate Lobbyists have little clout

LOBBYING THE CORPORATION:

Citizen Challenges to Business

Authority

By David Vogel

Basic Books, \$14.95.

By Harry Hall

Winning political battles first requires identifying the target: One should be directed at institutions and people capable of delivering concessions, and vulnerable to political pressure. Recently, some of the organizations have shifted fire from government to private corporations.

No longer believing that they can rely mainly on government successfully to address their grievances, these citizen lobbies have been seeking, in David Vogel's words, "to make corporate officials as responsible to those affected by their decisions as are elected officials." Vogel's *Lobbying the Corporation* describes this "movement for corporate accountability," its origins, different strategies, changing objectives, and impact on corporate policy.

In the main, the movement is legalistic and attempts to achieve its anti-corporate objectives through legitimate channels, within the corporation as well as within the system. The strategy of many organizations in this movement, such as the National Consumer, is to use the leverage they gain from owning some stock in corporations to engage in shareholders suits and to introduce proxy resolutions. They also appeal to shareholders, as officers, to pressure corporations to behave responsibly.

Vogel details some of the more notable anti-corporate challenges, among them the campaign to make General Motors more politically accountable, church opposition to corporate involvement in South Africa, and the challenge to Honeywell's manufacture of anti-personnel weapons.

Vogel has provided a fine contemporary history, the first, of the corporate accountability movement. But this was not his intention. He wants mainly to provide a political analysis of the movement. On this score, though, his study is seriously flawed. Although both his introduction and conclusion contain valuable insights, they are not integrated into the text.

Despite the appearance of careful and dispassionate assessment of the movement, Vogel tilts toward blind celebration.

Consider the issue of the movements potential for achieving reform. Vogel correctly recognizes the serious shortcoming of the anti-corporate perspective of the new citizen lobbies; many of the major issues, such as unemployment, poverty and military spending and priorities, cannot be resolved by altering the practices of one or even a group of corporations, as they are really matters for public policy. And yet in developing his case studies, this critical insight is absent.

Vogel chalks up a victory for the campaign to compel Dow Chemical during the Vietnam war to cease production of napalm, but he dismisses in one sentence the more crucial event that the contract was awarded to another company. This

assured the continued production of napalm, leaving military policy undisturbed.

He also argues that the campaign against Dow Chemical was victorious because it linked in the public mind corporate complicity with the war in Vietnam, thereby promoting an anti-business climate. This may have been so, but evaluating the achievements of a political campaign so far removed from the original goal and with intangible gains such as changes in the climate of opinion is too speculative.

The available evidence suggests the contrary. As Vogel acknowledges, not only did the campaign have no negative effect on Dow, but the sales of one of its consumer products, Saran Wrap, actually improved, which indicated a backlash among those who disapproved of the protests and supported the war. Vogel's penchant for romanticizing the movement prompts him to mistake the illusion of progress for actual social change.

Vogel's romanticism also makes it impossible for him to develop a satisfactory theory of social change. As if to legitimate the corporate accountability movement among militants, he traces its roots to the protest movement of the 1960s. But amazingly, he fails seriously to consider the far more important differences between these two movements.

The civil rights movement met with many successes because by taking to the streets and engaging in other direct action campaigns it disrupted business as usual.

The corporate accountability movement, on the other hand, has accom-

plished little because it doesn't threaten established interests. At most, it inconveniences the business establishment, and prompts some corporations to increase their public relations budget.

The anti-corporate political ideology of this new movement is generally to the left of the civil rights movement, but its strategy and tactics are more conservative. A really critical study of how this movement developed, and its significance for the politics of the seventies and beyond has yet to be written. For this, *Lobbying the Corporation* would be a good point of departure.

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Richard Stromberg
Taking communion in Chicago's Grant Park during last week's papal mass.

Pope's visit

Continued from page 6.

dress, he reiterated the church's rejection of abortion ("To destroy these innocent unborn children is wrong"), of extramarital sex ("Sexual intercourse is a moral and human good only within marriage"), of homosexual practice—as opposed to "orientation"—and of divorce. Such conservative doctrine was probably lost on the clear majority of U.S. Catholics, who would like the church to approve the use of artificial contraception, disagrees with its opposition to divorce, and thinks priests should be allowed to marry. And John Paul's stand against the ordination of women certainly undercut the political liberalism of his speech on human rights at the United Nations. It was disappointing, but at least he neglected to give his thoughts

on forbidden movies and masturbation.

After enduring the unrelenting media assault, which only proved again the capacity of the straight press to transform all experience into banality, actually going to the giant mass on Friday in Grant Park was fun.

The weather was beautiful, the Loop was closed to traffic, and it was a day off work—except for some. The atmosphere of hustle was intense outside the park. Among the evangelists—"Only God can save you," said one. "You're no good the way you are now"—the rows of policemen in dress blues and white gloves marching in formation but out of step, and the man wearing a sandwich board reading "I am a victim of Communism,"—were scores of vendors with prayer cards, rosaries,

T-shirts, candles, periscopes, pennants and posters. One of them was a husky black man who came across like a classically psychotic Vietnam vet—khakis, high black boots, shaved head. "Five by seven photos of the Pope with his own signature," he shouted, counting a fistful of bills. "The photo I stole from a negative. The signature? Easy to get. I stole it too, and spliced it onto the negative."

Inside, the park was packed and most accounts of the mass concentrated on the sheer size of the event. Straining for significance, Newman saw the estimated crowd of almost a million as "a spiritual happening, a festival, a colossal celebration, solemn yet bright with cheer." But I was struck by the gathering's pure symbolism. It was as if someone had put in a call to central casting and been overwhelmed by the response, and I half expected to run into Pat O'Brien playing Knute Rockne. In fact, it was not unlike the crowds that show up to root for Notre Dame. There were also plenty of Latinos, along with a full cross-section of stock new-age types.

It included punkish art students draped in cameras, liberal Catholic priests in beads and sportshirts toting loaves of French bread and bottles of wine, and a bearded guy wearing a ring in his nose and an ankle-length gown who looked like a leftover from Woodstock Nation. Then there were the Knights of Columbus—a line of middle-aged men in red capes and sombreros with white plumes that resembled big fuzzy caterpillars—and the various nuns, brothers and fathers.

I spent some time talking with Father Ilyia, an Army sergeant before he joined the Franciscans 30 years ago, who answered each question with a generalized discussion of "true spiritual values." To emphasize whatever point he was making, Ilyia grabbed my shoulder in a fair approximation of Father Duffy sending Mickey Rooney off to make his way in the world. As a helicopter dipped low over the crowd, I suggested that Adam and Eve—the kind of topic Ilyia encouraged—had been booted from

Eden because they had wanted to become property owners. "Wrong," he snapped. "It was individualism. They thought they could live without God." From our position at the rear of the crowd, the specially-constructed "altar" resembled a green and white Aztec pyramid, and the Pope was invisible. Some women turned their backs to the altar and viewed the scene through pocket mirrors held above their head, and when the choir began to chant and John Paul's voice came crackling over the speakers, it reminded me for some reason of the scene in "Lost Horizon" when Ronald Coleman stumbles into Shangri-la in search of old Sam Jaffe as the Grand Lama.

Strike

Continued from page 4.

donated, to sustain striking families. Among other assistance, the Longshoremen provided Kraco strikers with temporary dock work, and the Electrical and Nuclear Workers of Mexico contributed \$500 per week. Garcia surmises that the classic organizing adage, "Defense of the lowest-paid worker is the best defense of all," is hitting home in 1979.

From an international perspective, the decision to hold the line against union busting at Kraco was significant. Electronics is second only to the textile industry in the number of foreign workers, female workers and in low wages. It is also the fastest growing industry in the area, due largely to its capacity to exploit non-citizen, non-unionized labor.

Legal rights of "aliens" expanded.

Organizers spent the first few months at Kraco teaching workers, in Spanish, that they had legal rights, including the right to due process before deportation and the right to organize. Turn-of-the-century socialists developed powerful allegiances among immigrants by teaching "citizenship," and UE's educational effort at Kraco also had broad implications: Mexican workers (many just a few months removed from rural lifestyles) elected strike leaders, developed strategies, participated in negotiations, and turned out for shows of solidarity at such non-labor events as the Nicaraguan support rally and demonstrations against police abuse. Immigration agents met at the plant gates by a disciplined picket line were unwilling to risk legal hassles or bad publicity of mixing into a labor dispute, so they left.

The Kraco struggle drew unprecedented support from political, religious and minority organizations in the Los Angeles area, who viewed it as a human rights issue. Practicing techniques developed by the United Farmworkers, a "Strike Support Committee" held benefit rallies featuring civil rights leaders, leveled public censure against Kraco and against the Compton police force, formed social welfare and legal defense "teams," rounded up sympathetic radio and TV coverage, and threatened a nationwide boycott of Kraco products.

A week before the contract, a Black Support Committee was formed to combat Kraco's racism: the sole hiring of Mexican labor in a black community, the pitting of black security guards against undocumented picketers, using the Compton power structure and neighborhood tensions to pressure the strikers.

A large part of the Support Committee's work aimed at raising public consciousness about union busting, runaway shops, exploitation of Third World and women workers and anti-union myths—"aliens are stealing our jobs," "wage hikes are the cause of inflation."

UE organizer Garcia stressed the need for ongoing community-labor alliances. "The real success at Kraco," he said, "isn't in the contract. It's in the issues it raised and the strategies it tested and the working relationships it put together for the first time in 40 years."

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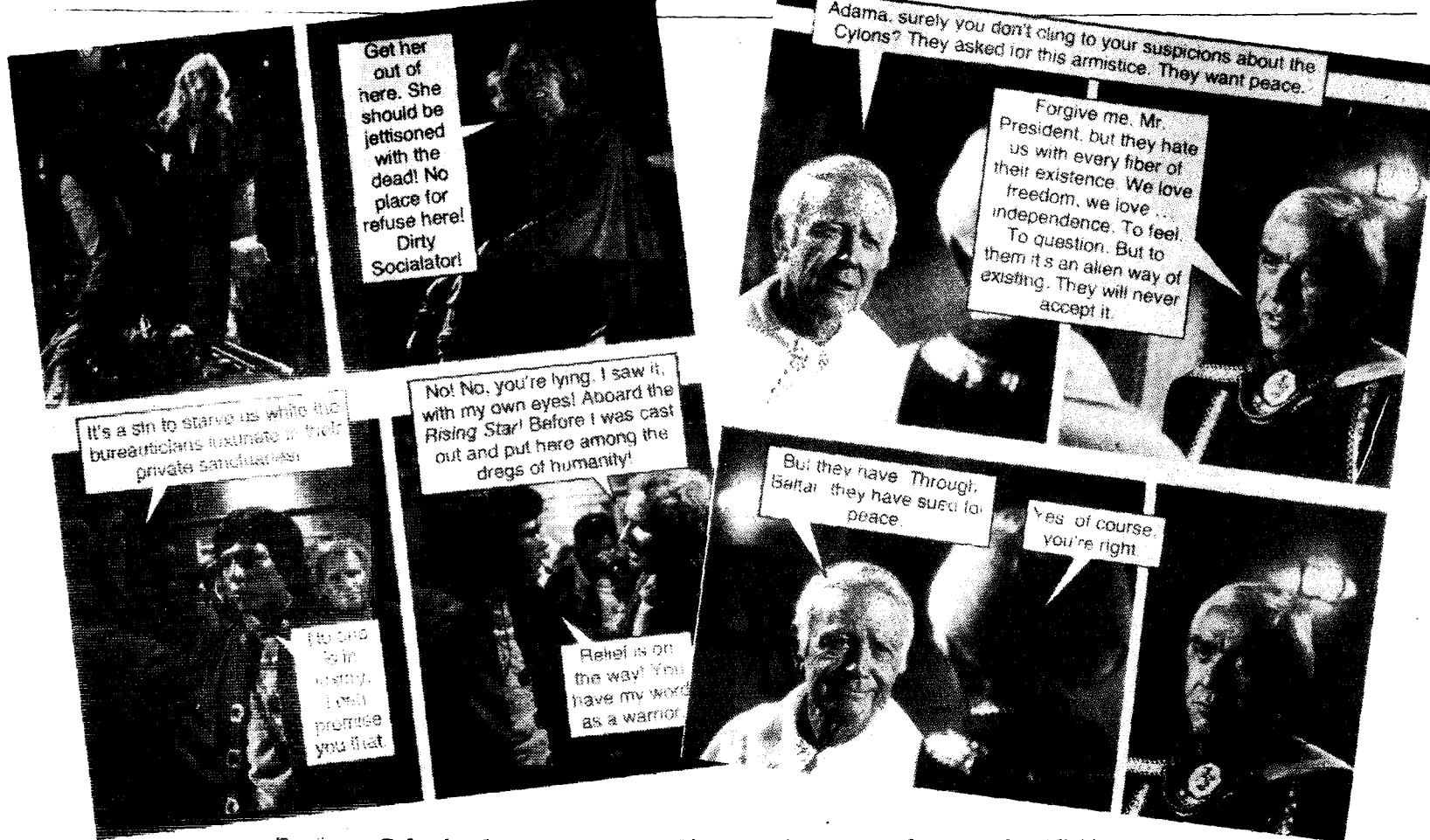
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PUBLISHING



Star Trek: The Next Generation demonstrates a trend in entertainment conglomerates' publishing ventures.

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 17-23, 1979 13

maining pages show assorted film stills, with snatches of dialogue inside the thought-bubbles. *Saturday Night Fever* was published this way by a firm called FLIKS, yet another subsidiary of Gulf & Western. *Lord of the Rings* went through the complete circuit: book into film into TV show into photobook. The newest slogan in the publishing world is: "You've seen the movie, now you can watch the book."

Showbiz publishing uses market research to "develop" books, just as television producers "develop" TV programs. A questionnaire goes out to selected samples. "Dear Reader, I'm writing to ask for your help," says the covering letter. Dear Reader is then asked to inspect a list of titles, a list of topics, even a sample page or two. Instructions are to check the appropriate response in each case: "Would order, might order, some interest, no interest."

Another technique is to run a "dry test." A brochure goes out to another set of Dear Readers, describing the book in detail, including table of contents and order form. If the mailing pulls enough orders, the book goes into production. If not, Dear Reader gets an apologetic letter explaining that unfortunately the book is not available, the check is returned, and there's some sort of token "prize" for having cooperated.

The system of manufacturing books to order in this fashion was pioneered by *The Readers Digest*, in business since 1922. The RD executive who explained the system to a *New York Times* reporter pointed out that "Naturally, producing only those books we know our readers wish to own saves money," and added, "What we want to do is to build the perfect book." At the same time he said this, he was head of RD's book and record division. Today he's president of the firm.

See the movie, watch the book

By Rose K. Goldsen

This month ABC, the entertainment conglomerate, bought out Macmillan, the publishing conglomerate, by outbidding Mattel, the toy conglomerate. The ABC representatives who sat down to the bargaining table were representing a corporation that already owned about 30 magazines, a textbook company, a printing business and a paper mill.

If the Macmillan buy goes through without a hitch, ABC will end up owning as well the 136-year-old book publishing house plus all its subsidiaries: Free Press, Hather Press, Macmillan Book Clubs, Glencoe Publishing, Schirmer Publishing, Standard Rate and Data, two encyclopedia companies, plus the Berlitz chain of language schools, Katherine Gibbs secretarial school, a department store and a musical instruments company.

That's a pretty sizable chunk of print holdings for a video company in a video age, but here's the game plan.

Two months before the Mac-

millan takeover, ABC set up a new subdivision, Video Enterprises, whose mission is to commission, produce, syndicate and market TV shows and films. So now, with the print-video-film combination, ABC is in a position to enter the market for TV software on the ground floor.

New delivery systems—cable, satellites, superstations, video-discs and cassettes—are buying. They want home entertainment such as movies, series, sports, specials and any other kind of spectacle that can be captured on film or tape and piped into the home. They also want instructional materials to be marketed to school systems and industrial materials targeted to business corporations.

Versions of versions.

The name of the game is cross-plugging, and other biggies are just as eager as ABC to get in on the ground floor. Gulf & Western routinely cross-plugs properties turned out by Simon & Schuster (hardcover books) then by Pocket Books (paperback) while Paramount does the movie version. All three companies are G & W

subsidiaries. Sometimes a book is recycled for movies and TV (*Looking for Mr. Goodbar*); sometimes it's the other way around—movie first, book next (*Grease*). Now G & W, which also owns Madison Square Garden and Hughes Television Network, has combined the two into MSG Communications, a subsidiary that will produce, package and syndicate shows for the new delivery systems.

MCA/Universal (films and talent) owns Berkeley Paperbacks and G.P. Putnam. It has just teamed up with IBM to produce materials for videodiscs targeted to industrial customers, and with Magnavox, a Phillips subsidiary, to turn out discs for home entertainment customers.

Time Inc. owns Time-Life Films and Book-Of-The-Month Club, along with a long string of publishing subsidiaries. Time has just set up its own subscription TV and packaging division—more software for the new technologies.

Warner Communications, which owns Warner Films, Warner Books, D.C. Comics and Warner Cable, has just bought its own networking system, Satellite Communications System. The combination must have looked pretty good to the corporate planners at American Express; they've just agreed to go halves with Warner, setting up a new subsidiary, jointly owned. It will be called Warner Amex Cable Communications Inc.

As book publishing is caught in the orbit of show business, the nature of books changes drastically. We get novelizations instead of novels, and books about the way TV shows and movies are made—"Star Trek," *King Kong*, *Star Wars*, and the like. We get "scrapbooks" about the hottest stars, like *The 'Rocky' Scrapbook*, brainstormed at Grosset & Dunlap, a subsidiary of Filmways.

But the latest offspring of the publishing-showbiz marriage is something new in this country, the photobook. On page one you see a cartoon figure with a balloon growing out of its head. "Hi, I'm a narrative thought-bubble," says the text. The re-

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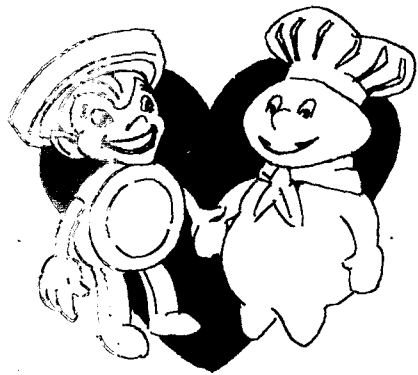
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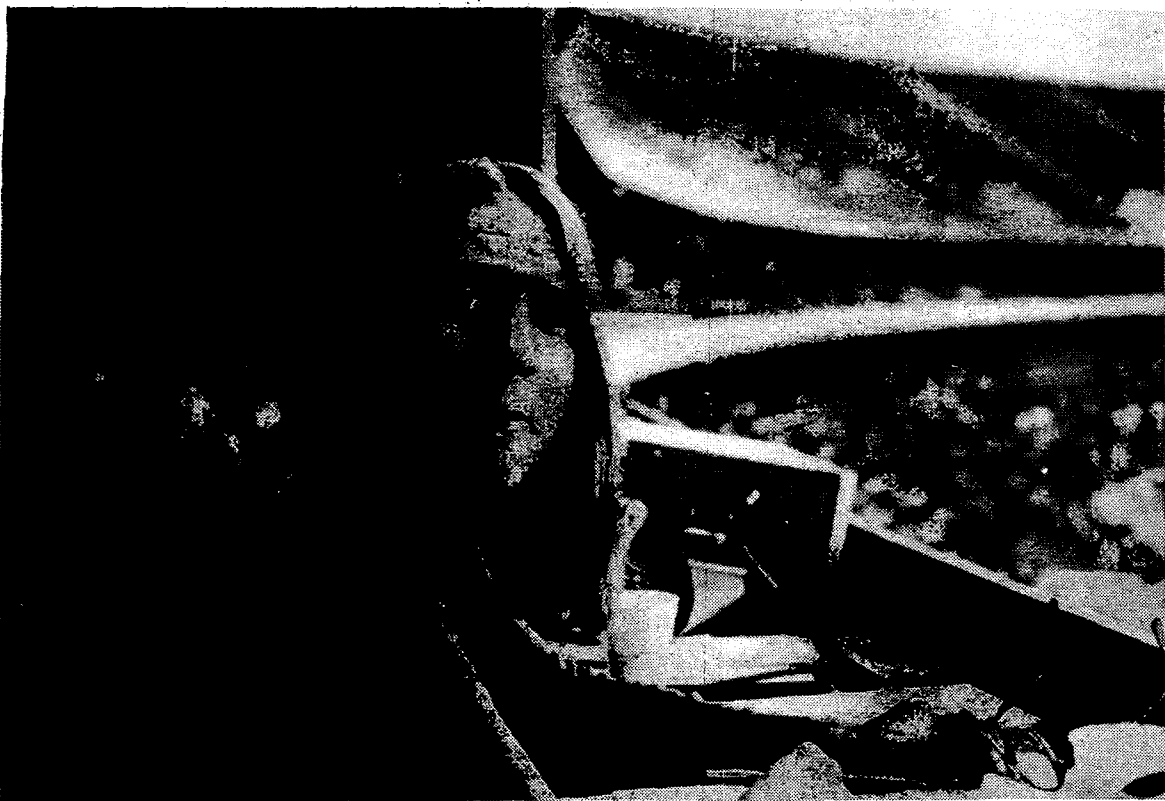
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SPORTS AND MEDIA



Stephanie Salter is part of a growing group of female sports journalists.

Invading the locker room

By Michael Kazin

Stephanie Salter is tired of talking about baseball locker-rooms. Yet she can't help feeling a little triumphant. "Now, the two teams I cover let me in along with everyone else," says the only woman who writes sports for a daily paper (the *SF Examiner*) in the Bay Area. "It's made my job a lot easier."

Last winter, Salter was incensed about being barred from the sweaty sanctums of the national pastime. "I have dreams

that I'm outside some clubhouse and there are ropes around me. There have been times when I just couldn't do it anymore because it hurt so much," she told the *New Yorker's* Roger Angell.

By the beginning of the current season though, corporate baseball had staged a tactical retreat. Alarmed by the thunder of pending lawsuits, Commissioner Bowie Kuhn informally told the 26 major league teams to open their doors to both sexes. Salter says that only the Cincinnati Reds still insist that their muscles would shrivel if glimpsed

by a female reporter.

The tall 30-year-old who covers the Oakland A's and writes backup pieces on the Giants did not while away her adolescence dreaming of being a sports-writer. "I'd like to say that Dad always wanted a son, but it's not true. I fell into it." Salter was a high school cheerleader in Terre Haute, Indiana, "where Friday night football games constituted the social life." Later at Purdue, she admired the style of a sports columnist on the college daily and got a job chronicling the jocks herself. She also

became editor of the paper.

After a short stint on *Sports Illustrated* and in the free-lance jungle, Salter landed a position on the *Examiner* and was assigned to cover the Golden State Warriors. As a smooth rider on the feminist wave, she was resented by some men in the sports department. "I had to pay my dues night after night on the copy desk, and the first thing you get is a professional team," one complained.

Four years later, however, the bitterness has faded like last week's box-scores. Her co-workers know that Stephanie Salter is a fine journalist, and a sharp critic of the pretensions of big-time sports.

Two and a half years ago, Rick Barry of Golden State missed several weeks of action because of what team officials said was a "hip pointer." Veteran reporters and basketball experts shook their heads and told her, "I don't know what it is, but athletes get it all the time and it really hurts." Finally she called the Warriors' doctor and got a clear, if technical, explanation. The experience convinced her that the mystified language of sports is largely a device to keep women out.

Salter also believes that the media has a responsibility to listen to fans. When the question of benching veteran Willie McCovey was raging this spring, she wrote a column asking readers to send in their opinions. Thousands of letters, most favoring the younger Mike Ivie at 1st base, soon arrived at the Hearst Castle in downtown San Francisco. Though both players are hitting well this season, Salter defends the poll. "People have no chance to get their feelings heard except to scream in the stands," she says.

Recently her editors have been assigning their token female to

cover tennis, the one sport in which women have achieved fame and riches comparable to men's. Salter doesn't usually like interviewing tennis players—"most of them are introspective and spoiled"—but she raves about Chris Evert. "She's intelligent, has a sense of humor, and is unfailingly courteous in the face of some of the stupidest questions I've ever heard." Still, the reporters realize that Evert's healthy blonde femininity has as much to do with her popularity as do her skillful passing shots.

Salter is part of a growing group of women who are filling a variety of niches in the world of print media. From Lesley Galoway who covers women's softball for the *Daily Californian* to LeAnne Schreiber, sports editor of the *New York Times*, they are well-trained writers who seldom patronize or worship their subjects.

Salter isn't optimistic about the prospects of changing sports from within. She praises critics of commercialism and myth-making like Harry Edwards and hopes women's college teams can avoid the under-the-table payoffs to which male teams are addicted. But she knows most fans like their games just the way they are.

In the middle of the *Examiner* pressroom, I asked the reporter to describe her ideal sports page. First she laughed, "If it was the way I'd want it, probably nobody would read it." Then she gave me some ideas: long pieces by good writers, art and photos chosen for aesthetic value, and box scores crammed onto the back page. "But we're doing as good a job as any afternoon paper," she sighs.

And maybe Stephanie Salter and her friends will have a say in the coming transformations of that pillar of American culture, sportswriting. ■

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VIDEO

Made-for-television movies grow up

By Albert Auuster

The night of February 11, 1979 has already become legendary in television history. On that night—the beginning of a sweeps period (when the prime time ratings are measured for local stations and the networks)—the three networks scheduled three movies opposite each other.

CBS, desperately trying to win the night and get off to a fast start, opened with the first part of *Gone With the Wind*. NBC countered with the Academy award winner *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, but to everyone's surprise number one ranked ABC only programmed the made-for-TV movie *Elvis*. The biggest surprise of all was when the made-for-TV movie won the night. On that night made-for-TV movies officially came of age.

About 10 years ago TV movies cost about \$400,000 to make, ran 90 minutes and were generally about a boy and his dog. In the last few years major stars and directors like Katherine Hepburn (*The Corn Is Green*), Lawrence Olivier (*Love Among the Ruins*), Bette Davis (*Strangers*), George Cukor (*The Corn Is Green*) and Franco Zeffirelli (*Jesus of Nazareth*) have made TV movies.

Nowadays your average TV movie costs about \$1.4 million to produce, runs two hours and can come as high as \$8 million for an 8-hour made-on-location ABC special like the upcoming *Masada*. This year CBS has scheduled upwards of 40 made-for-TV movies, up from 38 last year, ABC will show 28, up from 22 last year and 18 the year before, and NBC plans to show a "substantial number" of made-for-TV movies this season.

The reasons for this increase in made-for-TV movies aren't very hard to figure out. TV movies do very well in the ratings, and since Hollywood produces far fewer theatrical releases each year (and as their price tags go up) the TV movie has replaced them. In addition, the TV movie can serve as a pilot for an up-and-coming series (*The Waltons*, *Colombo*, and *Kojak*, to name a few, got their start that way) and they can also plug holes in the schedule left by cancelled shows.

Another important reason is that the TV movie can be syndicated, while a dropped series with fewer than two or three years of episodes can't. Despite their small license fees (the amount the networks pay producers of TV movies for at least two showings) the films can be sold for domestic and foreign syndication, or even booked for theatrical release. There is always the chance that they might become blockbusters like *Roots*, *Holocaust* and *Elvis*.

Boxing and incest.

An example of just how the growing production of TV movies has affected their quality is the upcoming CBS movie made from Pete Hamill's novel *Flesh and Blood* (October 14 and 16th). The novel fairly screams "screenplay" at you, and along with Hamill's firm grip on the sights, sounds and feel of the ring world and New York's lower depths in general, it has a number of in-

Oscar-winning cinematographer Vilmos Zgismond worked on social drama *Flesh and Blood*.



teresting themes. One of them—the one most likely to have scared off the networks a few years ago—is the incestuous relationship between the hero, the young boxer Bobby Fallon, and his beautiful mother Kate.

Proof of the priority that the networks now give TV movies is the fact that not only did CBS grab the novel, it loaded it up with plenty of talent. Directed by Jud Taylor (*Tail-Gunner Joe*), *Flesh and Blood* has the usual mix of young actors and actresses (Tom

Berenger, Kristin Griffith), TV stalwarts like Suzanne Pleshette, and classy Hollywood and Broadway supporting actors (John Casavetes, Mitchell Ryan). However, the evidence of just how far the TV movie has come is the participation of Oscar-winning cinematographer Vilmos Zgismond.

Complete with the flattened pastel look that Zgismond made famous in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, *Flesh and Blood* is about Bobby Fallon's (Tom Berenger) rise from a pub who fights so

that he can do soft time in prison to the ranks of heavyweight championship contenders. The key to Fallon's success is that he fights with a kind of Oedipal rage that borders on the psychopathic. The reason is his incestuous feelings for his mother Kate (Suzanne Pleshette).

The network handles the incest theme gingerly. In what passes for their big sex scene together, a seductive and sensual Pleshette lures the pouty Berenger into her bedroom on Christ-

mas Eve. But since the camera cuts away, all she might be tempting him to do is open his Christmas presents early.

Just as deftly as he found his way through the thickets of the incest theme, screenwriter Ernest Vercovici (*Washington Behind Closed Doors*) altered another Hamill theme—the idea of the "Great White Hope." Hamill meant to use this idea to illuminate some of the tensions and resentments felt by the white working class towards blacks. Nevertheless, this theme is so muted as to be almost unintelligible. The character who first talks about it, Fallon's black prison buddy and trainer Kirk (Denzel Washington), is depicted as just a shallow opportunist.

Hamill's novel is no great masterpiece, but it is indicative of the TV movies' coming of age that it was done at all. The networks are only tackling controversial subjects (lesbianism in *A Question of Love*, Vietnam in *Friendly Fire*) in a non-exploitative way, but they are willing to take on expensive productions like the forthcoming *Scruples* and even the mammoth *Shogun*. Highly regarded directors, stars (Jane Fonda has signed to do two), cinematographers and writers no longer shy away from the TV movie.

While the American TV movie still isn't on the same level as the Europeans (where you get directors like Bergman, the Taviani brothers, Fassbinder and Loach making TV movies), with the making of TV movies like *Flesh and Blood* American TV movie may become a contender. ■

FICTION

Portrait of the colonialist as a young fool

By Len Rubinstein

THE SINGAPORE GRIP

By J.G. Farrell
Knopf, \$11.95.

In this, the fifth novel from the Anglo-Irish writer J.G. Farrell, the self-irony of a Woody Allen meets the passionate politics of a George Orwell. Set in a Singapore on the eve of World War II in Asia, Farrell's narrative chronicles the misadventures of a bespectacled idealist, Matthew Webb. He is the unlikely heir to his magnate father's share of the Blackett and Webb Co., one of the economic powers in the British Crown Colony.

The young Matthew has been laboring hard but pointlessly in one of the quasi-public institutions spawned by the League of Nations until the summons to to the Far East arrives. Webb's concern with the plight of the poor and hungry is wildly contrasted to the machinations of the rich Europeans and the squalor of the poor natives and displaced Chinese.

Taken on a tour of the city's red light district, Webb cannot forget the endless reports in Geneva over the plight of the refugees. Further, he even confuses the pimps and whores surrounding him for an audience for his lecture on the subject. Like many of Farrell's other protagonists,

Webb is a Sir Gawaine who just possibly may have heard about sex once, a long time ago, and promptly forgot it. As a result the interest taken in him by the beautiful Eurasian Vera Chiang is hilarious.

Farrell's book is not only an exercise in absurd irony. *The Singapore Grip* is also a detailed exposition of the techniques of economic exploitation, principally the Malayan rubber industry. By his careful study, Webb unfolds the complex arrangements of land-leasing, trade and storage by which the British businessmen doomed local rubber tree farmers to the charnel house, which he visits with Vera Chiang.

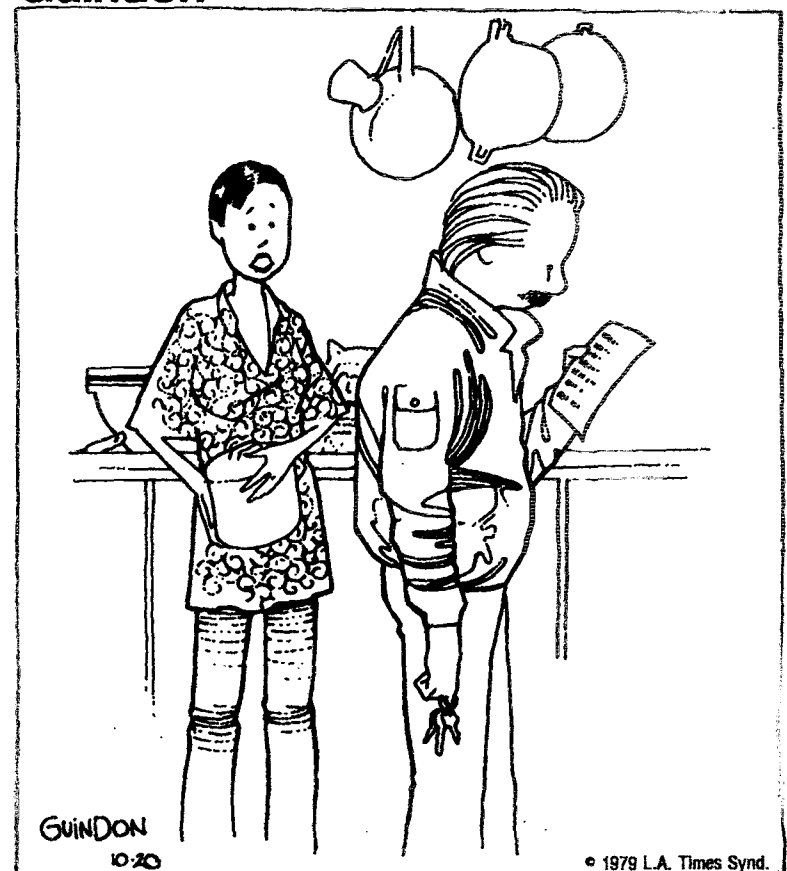
Before long, it is not only the natives who are dying. The Japanese attack Malaya. The Japanese army and air force rapidly outflank and defeat the incompetently led British forces. The descriptive passages of the various battles are a little too long and complex unless you have a map of Malaya handy. But the effects of defeat are harrowing. The elegant British sections of the city are soon within range of both bomber and artillery attacks. While the more ruthless and cunning Europeans and Americans manage to flee the encircled city, Matthew Webb and his friends are seen running to fight fires, to care for the homeless and sick, and to dodge

strafing aircraft.

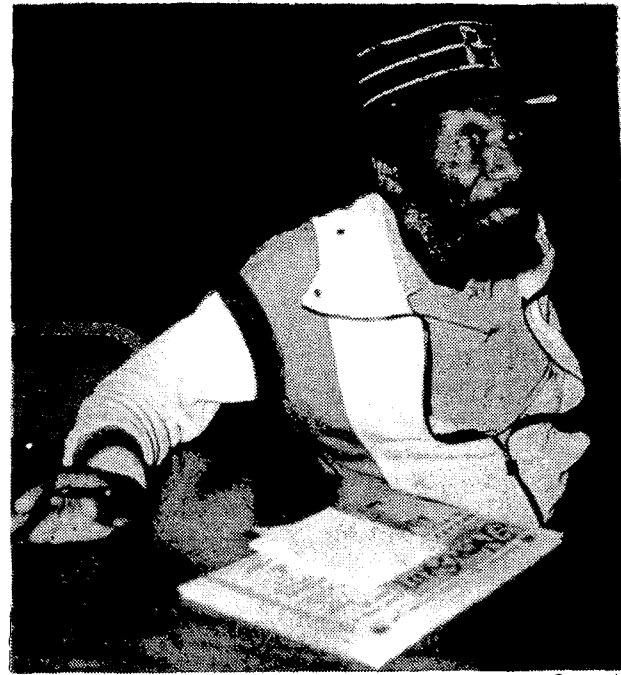
They and the reader also learn exactly what the Singapore Grip is. A kind of lease or a head cold? No, it is the ability of certain prostitutes to control the muscles of their vaginal

walls. A cross between Monty Python's Flying Circus and Evelyn Waugh, J.G. Farrell will never grant us another novel. He was reported drowned off the Irish coast on the 14th of August. ■

Guindon



"Honey, read the labels and don't buy any food that says, 'do not use near eyes.'"



Michael Carnevale

The

Dick Gregory is fighting

Flesh

our "spiritual bankruptcy"

Is

with humor,

Willing

marches and fasting.

By
Eric
Leif
Davlin

There's white sprinkled in his beard now and his eyes are those of a weary man nearing 50. But, Dick Gregory, night club comedian turned social activist, is still marching and shows no signs of slowing down.

On September 11, Gregory took a 24-hour break from St. Louis, a scene of current black protest and outrage, to bring the word to the students at Point Park College in downtown Pittsburgh.

Gregory proved he can still play the crowd. Coming on at times like the comedian he once was and then holding forth like a down-home preacher, Gregory held the large audience in his hand for more than 3½ hours through a wandering discourse which managed to touch just about every base in existence.

Before his talk, however, Gregory sat down with us and spoke about his graduation from the night clubs to the streets.

"It wasn't really such a great change," he says. "See, I was doing that type of humor anyway. I was active in the Civil Rights Movement and that radically changed my consciousness. This was reflected, for instance, in my book of routines, *From the Back of the Bus*. What I'm doing now is really the same thing. See, I'm still in the publicity business. I publicize the issues I'm fighting for by being a media personality, that's part of the game."

Hospital sit-in.

One of the issues Gregory is currently publicizing is the closing of Homer G. Phillips Hospital in St. Louis, his birthplace. Phillips is the only complete-care hospital serving the poor North Side neighborhoods of St. Louis.

On August 17, dozens of protestors were arrested as they tried to block the forced removal of the hospital's last few patients. Again on August 30, more than 700 people, including Gregory, were arrested on the steps of the St. Louis City Hall as they staged a sit-in to demand the hospital's re-opening. The sit-in followed a four-mile march from the hospital in the predominantly black North Side to the City Hall downtown where protestors blocked rush hour traffic for almost an hour. Gregory and others were released on bail and stood trial on October 2 for the disruption.

On September 4 another 200 black protestors marched from Phillips Hospital to the City Hall, ending with a rousing speech from Gregory. On September 10, the day before his Pittsburgh appearance, Gregory led a 25 hour non-stop protest march around City Hall. "And," he said, "I'll be back tomorrow morning marching again!"

Gregory stated that the closing of Phillips Hospital is merely the most outrageous example of a national trend. In the past few years, over 200 inner city hospitals have been closed as unprofitable. Phillips, however, is one of the best hospitals in the nation and is the only accredited public hospital in St. Louis. Its reputation is such, says Gregory, that almost half of all black MDs in the nation did their internships at Phillips.

Both St. Louis University and Washington University are affiliated with the unaccredited and sole remaining public hospital located in the mostly white South Side, a considerable distance from the black neighborhoods presently served by Phillips. However, Gregory claimed, white flight to the suburbs is causing problems for the South Side hospital. They can't find enough warm bodies to fill their beds. Their solution, says Gregory, is to close the black hospital.

Blacks and Jews.

St. Louis Mayor James Conway has another version. Conway claims St. Louis needs only one public hospital and the 40-year old Phillips was closed to save the city \$6 million by transferring health care services to the South Side hospital.

Black community leaders have condemned the Mayor's consolidation plan, saying it will deprive the North Side community—already cited by HEW as medically underserved—of its only access to health care.

Gregory said the black community is going to win. "You know they're going to re-open Homer Phillips Hospital. As long as we keep doing what we're doing, you know it's going to happen."

"When we demonstrate, some days we march for six hours and have a confrontation; some days we march for 12 hours and have a confrontation; some days we'll march 24 hours round-the-clock and have a confrontation. We're going to march for 18 months if need be until they open that hospital!"

Although deeply involved in the struggle for black rights, Gregory sees himself as fighting for all the people. The real enemies, he said, are the "One hundred super-rich families in this free democratic society that don't pay taxes at all."

"Being white ain't got nothing to do with it. Listen, my man, if you don't have some big bucks to back you up, you're a nigger just like me. It took me a long time to realize whites are afraid of whites also. But, you see, there's only a couple of whites in this country. The rest of you people are niggers who just happen to *think* you're white!"

In particular, Gregory made a point of emphasizing his opposition to anti-Semitism. After our discussion, he drew loud applause from the mostly black Point Park College audience by saying: "Blacks hear all the anti-Semitic slanders Jews don't hear. But, you say nothing! You'd be angry if a Jew didn't oppose a racist remark, but you keep silent when you hear anti-Semitic remarks. You're just as guilty! And you can bet those same people say the very same things about you when you're not around!"

Run and fast.

During his youth, Gregory was a long-distance runner and cultivated the nickname "Iron Man." He is still noted for his devotion to running, having run across the continent to protest the Vietnam War, and for his periodic fasts. His fasts, he said, are a means of cleansing his system—and just happen to be effective publicity tools as well.

His first was a 40 day water-only fast to protest the Vietnam War. "My cousin kept telling me I was going to kill myself. So, every morning I turned to the obituary column to see how many fasters died in the night—nope, only eaters!"

"Recently, I was in jail in Georgia for protesting jail conditions. They didn't like that, so they gave me a taste of the conditions I was angry about. Since a jail is a very polluted environment, I went on a fast to cleanse myself."

"On about the sixth day of my fast I woke up and felt like I was dead. I couldn't remember where I was or how I got there. And I heard my cousin's voice saying, 'You're gonna die!' And then I heard the news on another prisoner's radio: The president had fired Andy Young, but Andy said he'd still work for the re-election of the president."

"Then I *knew* I was dead!"

But Dick Gregory is not dead. He is alive and well and marching in St. Louis. Rather, it is the country he sees as dead.

"America," he said, "is morally and spiritually bankrupt. The problem with our society isn't racism, sexism, capitalism, or anything like that. The root problem is that society is totally degenerate, spiritually dead."

And then he left us to speak to the students.

"Better wake up," he said, "we haven't got much time..."